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The Week

WHAT has happened in Cuba is not a revolution, but a palace revolution. Machado has been overthrown, but there is no evidence as yet that the new regime has a social point of view very different from his own. The terrible economic distress in Cuba during the past few years was the thing which mainly created the revolutionary sentiment, augmented increasingly during the past year or two by Machado's almost incredible brutality, the fiendish torture and execution he meted out to hundreds of his enemies. The need for his removal was so great that temporarily, revolutionists of widely opposing political and economic views united against him; but now that the first object has been accomplished, they will doubtless fly apart again and Cuba's political life will present its normal picture of a series of parties ranging from extreme Right to farthest Left.

THE thing to bear in mind is that Cuba's ills have not been solved merely with the removal of the butcher dictator, who fled in so cowardly a fashion, leaving his associates and supporters to the tender mercies of the Havana mob. The economic problem is still acute; Cuba is still ruled for all important purposes by a little group of New York banks; much of her population is in a condition of virtual slavery on the big sugar plantations; she needs a planned economy, control of production and a redistribution of wealth and income quite as much as, or more than, these things are needed in the United States. President Roosevelt has proposed a plan for Cuba with three main points: putting the expropriated peasants back on the land, refinancing and reducing Cuba's debt, both internal and external, and the creation of a sugar-production scheme in which markets would be allocated among all the chief sugar-producing regions and production limited to what can be consumed. These ideas are excellent, but they should be regarded as only a beginning of the real program for Cuba. Unless they are put into effect as soon as possible, Provisional President de Cespedes may find himself playing a Kerensky role while the real revolution goes to the Left.

IN RETROSPECT, President Roosevelt and his special representative, Sumner Welles, are seen to have played their cards with skill. They resisted tremendous pressure for armed intervention of a sort which would have been a disastrous mistake; and although the President sent warships to Havana for the reassurance of Americans in that city, it is reported that there were no American troops on board, and we have missed the old familiar report that "the Marines have landed and have the situation well in hand." The next step, and it should be taken as speedily as possible, is the abrogation of the Platt Amendment, under which the United States undertakes to guarantee the maintenance of peace in Cuba. That amendment is a hang-over from our imperialistic jag of thirty years ago. It has operated to keep in power whatever regime got control; and it has never once, to our knowledge, been used to benefit the Cuban people. Behind its protection, American bankers have obtained a stranglehold on Cuban finance, and one which has reacted to the grave detriment of the Cuban population. If there is to be a New Deal in regard to Latin America, as Roosevelt indicates by his plan to take the Marines out of Haiti, abrogation of the Platt Amendment should be the first card played.

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AMONG all the 700 codes which have been filed in Washington, there can be few of which the country should be so heartily ashamed as those of the newspaper and magazine publishers. These gentry are, by their own frequent announcement, the leaders of opinion and the unalterable devotees of Truth and Justice; but the codes they submitted were written by Hyde and not Jekyll. The newspaper publishers first refused to have anything to do with this nasty code-making business, on the ground that they were not a business at all but mysteriously something else—a religion, perhaps. Told firmly from Washington to get over their illusions of grandeur and go to work, they produced two unacceptable codes in quick succession. While they have adopted the forty-hour week, most of them (there are many honorable exceptions) are trying to rule out all their editorial staffs as "professional men"—God save the mark!—and have also rejected the notion of being licensed, on the ground that this opened the door to federal censorship of their news and editorial opinion. The answer to this is that if the federal government wanted to censor them, it wouldn't need a licensing plan; and that meanwhile, the license scheme gives Uncle Sam a club with which to enforce fair dealing, a club of which no honest and patriotic publisher need be afraid.

AS FOR the magazine men, they offer in their code hourly rates which range from 40 down to 32.5 cents —$16 to $13 for a forty-hour week, or less, if less than that much work is available in any one week. Like so many other codes, this one does not agree to raise the wages of persons already receiving more than the minimum. It therefore defeats the whole fundamental purpose of the Roosevelt program, which is to raise consuming power through raising wages, and to increase employment by curtailing working hours. Next time you read in your favorite magazine an editorial nobly praising industry's response to the President's patriotic appeal, it might be in order to point out to the publisher that if everyone else responded as the magazines and newspapers have done, the country would go to hell before you could say "Periodical Publishers' Institute."

IN THE troubles besetting the milk industry, and leading to a producers' strike in the state of New York, Governor Lehman has one of the great opportunities of his official career. He has influence with one of the most powerful elements, probably the most powerful in the industry—the great distributing companies. These stand between the producer and consumer and receive a large portion of the price paid by the latter. Apparently, the large companies such as Borden's and National Dairy Products are still making reasonable returns, to say the least: both are still on a dividend basis. It is the consumer who has begun to grumble at the increase in retail prices for milk, and the producer who is complaining vigorously that he is unable to earn a living on the milk checks he receives from the distributors. The striking producers have been charged with engaging in a struggle against the state authorities, but this is only the result of the distributors' cleverness in shifting the fight to the shoulders of the state control board and in covering up the real issue. Once it is recognized that the contest now being waged is in large part one with respect to the division of the retail price between producer and distributor, it becomes clear that the distributors must be asked to negotiate with the producers and yield them a larger share of the price paid by the public, if the present divisions are as unfair as they appear to be.

THE shortest route to the distributors is through their bankers, in whom the executives of the large companies have confidence. One of the bankers for National Dairy Products is the firm of Lehman Brothers, of which the Governor of New York State was formerly a partner. Let the Governor get word to the distributors that they must take a more active part, that they must give up the advantage of staying in the background while the state milk commission fights the battles, that it will be far-sighted policy on their part to make some substantial concessions to farmers who have had no dividends on their farm investments and very little for their labor on their farms. If the business men who monopolize a substantial portion of the milk-distributing business continue to press their power too hard, federal intervention and federal licensing are not far off. Still worse for private control of an essential food, investigation of the books of holding companies and operating companies may follow close on the heels of the victory over producers which the distributors are now seeking.

THE smallness and solidarity of the group which controls our large-scale financial affairs and the billions of dollars of the country's investors, are again being broadcast by the rulers themselves. They advertise the fact every time they form committees to preëmpt the surest avenue to control, the corpse-strewn avenue of "reorganization." Of the many committees our big bankers have formed in recent weeks, one of the most important is that which intends to tell the Missouri Pacific bondholders what is good for them in the midst of the wreckage of their bankrupt railroad. Measured against the bondholders' committee in the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company receivership, the greatest in American history and the appropriate yardstick for subsequent reorganization, the Missouri Pacific committee appears with a change in name and subject matter, but hardly any change at all in the firms and institutions which so calmly assume control of the money of other people. Kuhn, Loeb and Company and J. P. Morgan and Company have their places on the Missouri Pacific committee. So Kuhn, Loeb had a place on the St. Paul committee, and while the Morgan firm was absent

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from that scene, its lawyers and two of its banking connections were there, drawing down fees of well above half a million dollars. Three of the large life-insurance companies, Metropolitan, Prudential and Northwestern Mutual, which were on the St. Paul committee, are on the Missouri Pacific committee. In the membership of both committees appears the head of a savings-bank association, to attract the support of the country's scattered savings institutions.

THE latest of the bankers' committees, like its exemplar of a few years back, appointed as its principal depositary the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, one of the principal banking corporations in the Morgan sphere of influence. Another of the depositaries of the MOP committee is the St. Louis Union Trust Company, the self-same syndicate manager which unloaded an "orphan" railroad on the St. Paul, thus contributing to the distress of that great company. Even the attorneys selected to act for the Missouri Pacific committee, Cadwalader, Wickersham and Taft, are to be found on the roll of Wall Street lawyers who labored to put through the Kuhn, Loeb reorganization of the St. Paul road. Twenty years ago, Louis D. Brandeis described the reorganization route as one of the most effective for building a money monopoly. On that monopoly the Pujo committee turned its spotlight. The monopoly has grown, and among its fruits are wholesale bankruptcy of railroads and other large corporations, losses to investors before the corporate bankruptcies, and further losses under banker-controlled reorganizations. Here is a subject which cries for illumination at the hands of the Senate committee which has been investigating our financial regime, and of the committee's counsel, Mr. Pecora.

IN THE New Republic of August 9, we commented on the fact that the federal government is planning to spend $25 million for "subsistence farms," pointing out that this money gave a magnificent opportunity for experiments in combining industrial with agricultural activity. It is excellent news that the man who has been chosen to supervise this work is Mr. M. L. Wilson, now chief of the wheat-production section of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and when he is at home, head of the Department of Agricultural Economics at the Montana State College of Agriculture. Mr. Wilson is probably more responsible than any other one individual for the adoption of the domestic-allotment plan which thus far is the outstanding success of the whole Roosevelt program. He is in touch with the best current thought of the city and regional planning movement, and his background insures him against any simple Rousseau-like idealism about "three acres and a cow." He certainly would not condone any practice of merely dumping the unemployed on hastily improvised squatters' farms for the purpose of letting them raise their own vegetables and thereby cutting down the burden on the municipal relief rolls. Indeed, the official announcement of his appointment refers to the plan as one for "aiding the redistribution of congested industrial population," and speaks of

> the development of a type of rural-urban arrangement whereby industrial workers may be given the opportunity to live on plots of land, near their place of employment, sufficient to produce gardens and part of their family living. Such subsistence homesteads will not enter commercial production and, therefore, will not disturb the national agricultural economy. . . . The undertaking contemplates, along with the decentralization of industry, relocation of stranded populations to decrease congestion in cities and to increase security of workingmen and their families, as essential to the President's program and the setting up of some organized farm colonies.

The dangers in such a program are of course apparent. Among them is the tendency among employers, unless forcibly prevented, to reduce wages because their workers have additional sources of subsistence. Another is the danger, in one-industry towns, that workers will be tied to the land and exploited by their employers because of this fact. The presence of Mr. Wilson at the head of Uncle Sam's experiment is probably as good a guarantee as possible that these dangers will be averted.

AS WE suggest elsewhere in this issue, the State Department contains some minor officials who still think we are back in the witch-hunting, shadow-fearing days of Mr. Hoover. They have just shown their backsliding tendencies by refusing a visa to Tom Mann, aged British radical labor leader, who was coming to the United States for a brief visit in connection with the forthcoming anti-war Congress. The law prohibits entrance as immigrants to believers in violent revolution, but visas are constantly given to foreign radicals for the purpose of visiting this country temporarily; indeed, the government shows an almost embarrassing alacrity in permitting the entrance of Russian Communists who come here to buy American goods. The suggestion has been made that ex-president Machado of Cuba may visit this country; if the State Department lets in this bloody-handed butcher, while keeping out such a person as Tom Mann, who has fought all his long life for the working class, it will have destroyed much of the faith that the advent of the Roosevelt administration meant a real victory for liberality and common sense.

THE Göbbels Propaganda Ministry is making much of the report that Germany has reduced its unemployed by two millions. In the words of Chancellor Hitler, "This solution of the unemployed problem, which other nations have sought in vain, will give the National Socialist party a prestige that no previous government has ever enjoyed." Correspondents cable from Berlin that East Prussia is

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wholly and Pomerania almost without unemployment. A closer survey of the situation, however, shows this alleged return to prosperity in a different light. Only the blind credulity of a Hitler follower could regard the system of forced labor in these two preëminently agricultural provinces as a real solution. In Pomerania and East Prussia unemployed are forced to enter the conscript-labor army, working for thirty pfennigs (about eight cents) and board per day; recipients of unemployed benefits lose their dole if they refuse work in this army, but are paid, if they enter its ranks, a slightly higher rate of fifty-five pfennigs (fourteen cents) per day, with the promise of a small holding on which they may build a home in the future. Nationwide conscription of labor, one of the chief features of the Hitler Four Year Plan, has been "postponed for the present" for lack of funds. The success story concocted by the Propaganda Ministry has just about as much relation to the facts as had Mr. Hoover's monthly announcements that the depression was over.

THE dissolution of the "Fighting League for the Commercial Middle Class," founded by Adolf Hitler in December, 1932, is another straw which shows how the wind blows in the Reich. It was the avowed purpose of this organization to reorganize retail trade in the interest of the small shopkeeper. Department, chain and one-price stores were particularly proscribed and their elimination under a National Socialist government was accepted as a matter of course. When the Hitler regime launched its coördination campaign, the leaders of the Fighting League believed that their time had come. Following the pattern of the Reich government, they appointed commissioners over most of the proscribed commercial establishments, after having previously played a leading part in the campaign against Jewish business men. These commissioners interfered with the orderly conduct of business to such an extent that finance capital, which owns and controls these large-scale retail enterprises, forced the National Socialist regime to put a stop to their activities. With the appointment of Schmitt, the head of one of Germany's largest insurance companies, to the Ministry of Economy, another position passed out of the hands of the middle class upon which the National Socialist movement depended so largely for political support. Its political organizations demolished, without economic power to enforce its demands, it must look helplessly on while the Nazi regime passes into the hands of the large financial interests.

THE 100-percent strike of the employees of the Berkshire Hosiery Mills in Reading, Pennsylvania, has been since June the particular pride of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers. Here was a walk-out in the largest, most adamantly open shop in the industry. The union's organizers had battered long and futilely the stolid phalanx of Pennsylvania Dutch workers whose employers' flat "no" to unionization had been swallowed without a murmur. But more than any propaganda or brilliant tactics on the part of the union, the National Industrial Recovery Act was the real spark that set off the strike. In Socialist Reading the labor guarantees of the Act were taken seriously and literally. With a characteristic stubbornness, the workers struck and stayed out for the right to unionize. When the Recovery Administration set up the National Labor Board, this strike was the first to come up for consideration. Knowing the strike to be the product of the New Deal rather than labor-union maneuvers, the administration wisely decided that it would be the easiest problem for the Labor Board to settle. Gerard Swope of the Board forced the employers to submit to a settlement. Leo Wolman's telegram informing both employer and employees that "the National Labor Board has assumed jurisdiction affecting the hosiery industry in Reading," promptly brought the 3,900 employees of the Berkshire Mills back to work. To save the management's face the agreement was that the workers would at once elect representatives to decide the problems of unionization. In view of the temper of the strikers this was tantamount to an assurance that the union will be asked to set up an organization in the mill. The National Labor Board assured non-interference by employers in the election and will act as final arbiter in an impasse.

THUS the first act of the Labor Arbitration Board shows signs of being a decided success. But the strike of 9,000 shirt makers in the Phillips-Jones Shirt Company in Pottsville, Pennsylvania, has continued in spite of the efforts of the Board. And the most unpleasant of its problems are unfortunately yet to come. In New York the International Ladies' Garment Workers has voted for a general dress strike involving 60,000 persons for the thirty-hour week. Milkmen and painters have indicated that they too would walk out unless their hours and wages were bettered. In Philadelphia walkouts have been even more widespread. Buttonhole and neckwear workers are already out, as well as 3,500 cleaners and dyers. To top this off the Needle Trades Workers' Industrial Union has called a general strike of fur workers. Added to this is the impending general silk strike and the smoldering unrest in the Indiana and Pennsylvania coal fields. Clearly the National Industrial Recovery Act has set in motion a labor development that will require an extremely potent arbitrating agent if the codifying of industry is to run as smoothly as General Johnson promises.

FOR no reason whatever we should like to quote Dr. Samuel Johnson's definition of a stock jobber, made in 1755, and not precisely invalidated by the events of the last century and a half: "STOCK JOBBER. *n. s.* (*stock* and *job.*) A low wretch who gets money by buying and selling shares in the funds."

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The Crisis in the N.R.A.

IT IS a very open secret that General Johnson and President Roosevelt are gravely concerned about the way things are going with the N.R.A. To an accompaniment of vast nationwide ballyhoo, the "blanket code" is now being popularized with a degree of effectiveness which is visible on every side, and to that extent, at least, it may be called a success. We have seen no figures, however, showing the percentage of the nation's employers who have signed the code, or the total increase in employment under it, or the increase in weekly pay rolls. It may be months before any reliable statistics of this sort are available; and no one need be greatly surprised if it finally proves that the Blue Eagle did not carry much prosperity under his wing.

A great many employers undoubtedly have earned the right to display the insignia without increasing the wage of a single person, or hiring one extra worker. Wages of $12 and $15 a week, the code's general standard, are low enough so that only in the worst sweated industries have there been large numbers of workers who were receiving less. The volume of business has sunk so far in the United States during the depression that it is not much of a trick to put employees on a thirty-five or forty-hour week (and there are many special exceptions of forty-four or forty-eight hours) without adding to the number of people in any particular shop or office. General Johnson is trying to augment business by a great "Buy Now" campaign, and he has the effective argument that prices of goods which are now on their way to the retailer's shelves may be, as he said in St. Louis this week, 40 to 60 percent higher than in the recent past. But his campaign is likely to fail for the same reason that all the previous similar campaigns during the depression have failed: because the great majority of the people haven't any money with which to buy, no matter how much they may want to, and in spite of their perturbation over rising prices. The average citizen, now as always, just about keeps abreast of his immediate necessities. Even on a rising market, he buys nothing until he has to—and perhaps not even then.

But after all, the blanket code is only a temporary device: a stop-gap to last until January 1, designed mainly for the purpose of forcing each industry to formulate its separate code and get it accepted by Washington. This purpose has been partially accomplished; some fifty-seven industries have hurried down with their wages-and-hours provisions, obtained temporary approval for these, and are displaying the Blue Eagle. Since they were frightened by the prospect of going under the blanket code, it is obvious that in most if not all of these industries, the conditions set up are pretty bad; and this belief is borne out by an inspection of some of the codes. They have been accepted temporarily just to get the ball rolling; as soon as there is time, they will be reconsidered, and complete codes will be written for these industries, in which, it is generally assumed, wages will be higher, working weeks shorter, and undesirable practices abolished.

Aside from these fifty-seven, what is the situation? Eight industries, at the beginning of this week, were operating under partial codes, nearly all of them closely allied with textiles. Six had complete and final codes in operation—final, that is, unless and until the President shall change them by executive order on a basis of evidence submitted to the N.R.A. that it is desirable to do so. They are: cotton textiles, the cloak and suit trade, cast iron soil pipe, electrical-appliance manufacturing, wool and shipbuilding.

This is a heart-breaking record two and a half months after the Recovery Act came into effect. It proves, what everybody knows to be the case, that the nation's great fundamental industries—coal, steel, automobiles, oil—are fighting the government. They have either refused to submit codes, or they have written documents so bad that it is impossible for the administration to accept them. In particular, their codes have usually contradicted the plain language of the Act by insisting upon the maintenance of company unions, or upon other restrictions upon the right of labor to bargain collectively through representatives of its own free choice. Some of them have gone so far as to declare, like the Alabama coal-mine operators, that they will get an injunction against the Recovery Act on the ground of unconstitutionality—something which they are unlikely to be able to do, except locally and temporarily, and something which can have no immediate effect upon the administration's program in any case. Meanwhile, the soft-coal miners of Pennsylvania and other states claim that the mine owners are breaking the terms of the truce recently arranged through the prestige of the President himself. It is charged that the checkweighmen chosen by the miners are rejected; that contrary to promise, discrimination is exhibited against participants in the strike and that some of them are being evicted from company-owned houses just as in the old days before the New Deal ever was heard of. Unless the coal code is written promptly, and unless it contains provisions which meet the grievances of the men, we shall see another strike and perhaps as long and bloody a conflict, as the history of our country records.

It is easy to understand why President Roosevelt and General Johnson have sought to obtain the cooperation of the leading figures in these great basic industries. It would obviously be ten times better if the Recovery program could be put through with their approval and consent rather than against their will. But the country cannot wait indefinitely while these gentlemen make up their minds whether their ultimate allegiance is to their checkbooks or to the Blue Eagle. The provisions of the law are perfectly plain. Even President Roosevelt himself has no legal power to set them aside. It is a

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humiliating spectacle to see the government of the United States seemingly afraid to enforce its own law because of the embattled opposition of a group of Tory capitalists whose hands are already stained with the blood of the working men they have sacrificed in the endeavor to make as much money as possible regardless of the cost in human misery. The country will not long contemplate such a spectacle; and the sooner the President and his Recovery Administration realize this, the better.

The Sequel to Scottsboro

THE KILLING of Dan Pippen and A. T. Harden, two Alabama Negroes aged eighteen and sixteen, was not so much a lynching as a political murder. It was a calculated sequel to the Scottsboro case, and to the issue of Negro representation on juries raised at that time, and to the attempt by the Negroes to organize a Share Croppers' Union. It was an episode in a race war which is also a class war, and which has raged with unusual violence during these last two years of the depression. It was a crime, moreover, which the local authorities did little to prevent.

Dan Pippen was charged with attacking and murdering a white girl. The circumstances surrounding the crime and the arrest cast serious doubts upon his guilt. On Monday, June 12, Vaudine Maddox disappeared from her home near Tuscaloosa, Alabama. On Wednesday her body was found in a ravine. It was shown that she had sat on a log near the ravine, evidently talking with someone she regarded as a friend—that is, with a white person. The local papers went so far as to say that it was impracticable to suspect a Negro of killing her. But two days later Dan Pippen was arrested on the testimony of a white man who owed him money and who said that he had seen him on Monday near the scene of the crime. Two of his friends, A. T. Harden and Elmore Clarke, members of the same Negro singing club, were arrested at the same time.

It happened that on Monday young Pippen had been working with his father, Dan Pippen, Sr., in a field belonging to another Negro, Willie Jimison. When Jimison appeared before the grand jury to testify that young Pippen had been working in his field, he was sent to jail "for investigation." Young Pippen's father, who testified that he had been working all day beside his son, had already been arrested "for interfering with the investigation." Five Negroes were now imprisoned for a crime which it seemed doubtful that any of them had committed. It was reported that white citizens of Tuscaloosa were talking about the necessity of avoiding "another Scottsboro case." The means which they took for avoiding it were simple. On June 21 a mob stormed the Tuscaloosa jail, only to find that the prisoners had been removed.

They were brought to trial on August 1 in the Tuscaloosa courthouse, which was guarded by sheriff's deputies and state militia. Three attorneys for the International Labor Defense appeared to defend them. The attorneys produced retainers signed by Dan Pippen, Jr., and by the nearest-of-kin of the other defendants. Pippen, however, was brought to the stand and denied that he had signed any retainer. The I.L.D. attorneys, who claimed that he had been beaten in jail and forced to repudiate them, were taken out of town under an armed guard and put on board a train for Birmingham. Thirteen miles from Tuscaloosa, the train came to a stop—the air line having been cut—and was boarded by a mob of lynchers. But the three lawyers were locked in a private compartment and escaped the mob.

By this time articles were appearing in Alabama newspapers to the effect that there was no use trying Negroes for rape when the convictions were likely to be reversed by the Supreme Court. Lynching was justified—and, moreover, a good, bloody, sensational lynching would prove to the Negroes that they could hope for nothing from those Communist organizations which not only defended them in court but also tried to stir up tenants against the landlords. Public opinion was dangerously tense. Under these circumstances it was the duty of the Tuscaloosa authorities to guard their prisoners with special care. But Sheriff R. L. Shamblin's own story of last week's lynching shows that they did nothing of the kind.

The sheriff says that he heard rumors of an attack on the Tuscaloosa jail planned for Sunday morning. On Saturday night he loaded three of the five Negroes—young Pippen, A. T. Harden and Elmore Clarke—into an automobile, took two deputies to guard them, and set out for Birmingham along an unfrequented road. The car was trailed by another, filled with armed deputies, but about twenty miles out of Tuscaloosa the second car turned back. After proceeding a few miles farther and crossing into Jefferson County, the sheriff's car was surrounded by two others, carrying a dozen masked men, who demanded the prisoners. Mr. Shamblin promptly surrendered them and drove back to Tuscaloosa, where he announced that the interference of the International Labor Defense was "directly responsible for the lynching."

But, Mr. Shamblin, what about your own responsibility for the safeguarding of your prisoners? Much more than the Scottsboro case, the Tuscaloosa lynching directly involves the honor of the state of Alabama: this time there can be no doubt that the authorities were negligent in performing their duties. It seems to us that on the face of his story, the sheriff has certain questions to answer:

1. If he knew that the jail was going to be stormed, why did he take only three of the five prisoners to Birmingham? Wasn't there danger that a disappointed mob would lynch the other two?
2. Why did he send back the trailing car loaded with deputies?
3. Why did the attack take place just over the

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er of Jefferson County, where Sheriff Shamblin's jurisdiction ceases?

4. Why did the sheriff and his two armed deputies make no resistance to the huge "mob" of a dozen men which attacked them?

5. How, unless he told them, or told a deputy who passed on the information, did the "mob" know that he was going to take this unfrequented road?

There are other questions that might be asked—as, for example, why Pippen was still in Tuscaloosa jail on August 12, although a court order transferring him to Kilby Prison had been signed on August 1; and how the sheriff knew that Elmore Clarke had been turned loose when people still were searching for his dead body. But the five questions above are sufficient for a beginning. It seems to us that Sheriff Shamblin should be forced to answer them, and not before a friendly judge. If he charges outside organizations with responsibility for stirring up race hatred, he ought to come into court with clean hands.

The State Department and the Old Deal

ALTHOUGH Mr. Buell's article last week confined itself to the question of Liberia, it inevitably raises the question whether the State Department is at present equipped to carry out in our foreign policy the political philosophy which dominates the Roosevelt administration elsewhere. During the last few months the President has several times denounced the policy of loan promotion and financial imperialism which was followed by the Hoover administration. Yet in its first real test the State Department is found tenaciously supporting the Firestone concession, which violates every principle of the New Deal. Obviously the President has not attempted to study the Liberian question. The formulation of policy as to the vast majority of complex problems daily arising within the State Department must necessarily be delegated to Department officials. Whether they decide these problems in accordance with the President's general philosophy depends not only upon the technical competence of these officials, but also upon their degree of sympathy with that philosophy.

In Cordell Hull the President has a Secretary of State with a passion for coöperation in economic and financial matters. Dominated by the Adam Smith school of economics, and having a slow-moving mind, Mr. Hull has little comprehension of the intricate nature of our present economic system, nor any detailed knowledge of international politics. Nevertheless, he is a man of great integrity with liberal instincts. He should become an outstanding Secretary of State, provided he is surrounded by sympathetic and competent advisers.

Hitherto the Secretary has had nothing to say in the selection of his assistants. The first of these, Professor Moley, is at personal odds with Secretary Hull, and is under the additional handicap of being an expert, not upon international affairs, but criminal justice. What is even more important is that Mr. Moley devotes most of his time to the administration's domestic program. Holding a position in the State Department, largely for reasons of prestige, he has even less time than Mr. Hull for details concerning foreign questions.

The direction of the daily work of the Department actually falls upon the remaining assistants. Three are so-called "career" officials. One adequately administers the legations and consulates scattered throughout the world; a second supposedly dictates policies upon many important matters. Wealthy, perfectly dressed, personally charming, a faultless host at state dinners, this assistant, it is believed by many good observers, is intellectually unprepared to infuse any new principles into our foreign relations. The third of these "career" officials has had a long experience in Latin America, promoting the interests of American oil companies and Wall Street bankers, in accordance with the philosophy of recent Republican administrations. But this very experience would obviously handicap him in formulating a new Latin American policy. Inevitably, the permanent diplomatic official of the old school regards an American banker or concessionaire as a client whose interests he should advance regardless of the effect upon other countries. Such an official may be trusted to carry out policies formulated by others; but he cannot be trusted to formulate policies himself. Another assistant secretary is a Middle Western Democratic lawyer who knows little about international affairs.

To those wrestling with the vast problem of unemployment, foreign problems may for the moment seem unimportant. Actually, the solution of our pressing domestic questions may ultimately depend upon the careful readjustment of our relationships with other countries. This readjustment cannot be undertaken if our State Department is staffed with wooden-minded officials. We hope the President will overhaul the Department before it involves him in new embarrassments.

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The Nazis Burned the Reichstag

[*The author of this article is dead. Although suicide was officially given as the cause of his death, his wife, and intimate friends who had been with him the previous day, have denied this possibility, and have accused the National Socialists of a political murder. The article was written by Dr. Oberfohren shortly before his death and was smuggled out of Germany. Dr. Oberfohren was chairman of the parliamentary group of the German Nationalist party, and opposed his party's coalition with the National Socialists. His friend Dr. Alfred Hugenberg rejected his warnings, believing that with political shrewdness and the backing of the Junkers and certain industrialists he would be able to outmaneuver the National Socialist leaders. Dr. Oberfohren denied all responsibility for the coalition, and after the Reichstag fire became more outspoken in his criticism of high government officials who accused their political opponents of crimes which they themselves had committed. He referred of course to the fire for which Törgler and other Communist leaders are now being held—facing almost certain death—for trial in the middle of September. The National Socialists were aware of Dr. Oberfohren's opposition. His telephone was tapped and his mail opened. The secret police discovered that he had written two articles which were published in The Manchester Guardian, and he was found dead in his home early in May.*—THE EDITORS.]

SEVERAL weeks before the Reichstag fire Göbbels believed it necessary to find evidence in the Karl Liebknecht Haus, the national headquarters of the German Communist party, to prove the criminal intentions of the Communists and to show that a Bolshevist uprising was imminent and had been narrowly averted. Under the administration of Melcher the police had repeatedly failed to locate the desired evidence. Göbbels therefore decided that Berlin must have a new chief of police, a man out of the National Socialist ranks. Von Papen was reluctant to consent to Melcher's dismissal, for the man had always served him faithfully. The proposal of the National Socialists that Count Helldorf be appointed in his place was rejected by the Cabinet, which finally compromised on the more moderate Admiral von Levetzow, who, though he belonged to the National Socialists, still had intimate connections in German Nationalist circles. To smuggle the desired evidence into the Karl Liebknecht Haus was a simple matter. The police had the plans of the building and were familiar with the lay-out of the cellar. The necessary documents could easily be planted there.

From the start Göbbels recognized the wisdom of emphasizing the authenticity of the "concealed documents" by some overt act. All arrangements were made. On February 24, the police broke into the Karl Liebknecht Haus, which had been closed by the authorities several weeks before, searched the premises, carted away masses of material and padlocked the building. On the same day the authorities announced that highly treasonable material had been discovered there.

On February 26, Conti, an official government news service, described the plans of the Communists in great detail. It is unnecessary to reproduce the exact wording here. Its lurid style must have startled even an unthinking reader. It told of secret passages, automatic doorways, mysterious hiding places, catacombs, underground vaults and other equally sensational discoveries. To apply the terms "catacombs" and "underground vaults" to the cellar of an office building was fantastic on the face of it. It was significant also that the official party headquarters should have housed several hundred pounds of highly incriminating evidence in easily accessible compartments, material which gave the particulars of their plans for the coming revolution, and that these plans should have fallen at once into the hands of the searching police. Even more ludicrous was the announcement that the Communist party and its subsidiary organizations had led a second, illegal existence in the cellars of their own headquarters.

The searching of the Karl Liebknecht Haus meanwhile had precipitated a lively quarrel in the Coalition government. Von Papen, Hugenberg and Seldte, indignant over the use of so obvious a fraud by the government, insisted that the alleged documents were such obvious forgeries that they could not possibly be made public. The whole matter, they said, should have been arranged with much more finesse and they pointed to the notorious "Zinoviev Letter" as a shining example. German Nationalists and Steel Helmets ridiculed the idea that anyone would believe that the Communists had established illegal headquarters in the Liebknecht Haus. Surely it would have been more plausible to have discovered the secret hide-out of the Communists in some other part of the city.

The documents were published over their protests. The Nationalists were forced to accept the situation and to vote, much against their will, for more stringent measures against the Communist party. But they balked at any proposal that would eliminate the Communists from the elections on March 5. They wished under all circumstances to prevent the National Socialist party from receiving an absolute majority in the Reichstag by outlawing the Communist party.

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Göbbels and Göring were outraged by the behavior of the German Nationalist leaders. They demanded the suppression of the Communist party. To lend plausibility to the incriminating evidence, faithful Nazi followers had already fired public buildings at strategic points throughout the city. On February 25, Tempo, a Berlin evening paper, announced in huge headlines the discovery of an incendiary fire in the palace of the former Kaiser. But in their arguments with the Nationalists in the Cabinet, the National Socialists were becoming painfully aware of the fact that it would not be easy to force the suppression of the Communist party. The incendiarism with which they had hoped to build up a case against that party would have to be more spectacular—something that would arouse the people to such a frenzy that the Nationalists would not dare to repudiate immediate punitive measures against both Social Democrats and the Communist party.

Everything was in readiness. Significantly, not a single member of the propaganda staff of the National Socialist party was listed to speak on Monday, February 27. Hitler, that indefatigable speaker, Göbbels and Göring were all in Berlin.

Meanwhile emissaries of the National Socialist party, led by Deputy Heines, chief of the Silesian Storm Troops, smuggled themselves through the cellar of the official residence of the Reichstag President into the Reichstag Building. Each of these carefully selected leaders of the Storm Troops and the Schutz-Staffel (Protective Guard), had previously been assigned to specified posts. When the lookout in the Reichstag reported that the Communist Deputies Torgler and Könen had left the building, the Nazis went to work. In a few moments the blaze was well under way. The incendiaries then hastily withdrew to the residence of the Reichstag President where they resumed their uniforms and passed unnoticed into the street. In the Reichstag building there remained only van der Lubbe, with a Dutch passport, a Communist United Front leaflet, several photographs of der Lubbe together with an alleged credential from a Dutch Communist opposition group conveniently tucked into his hip pocket. They had thought of everything, these National Socialist incendiaries. Still they committed mistakes and oversights hardly believable. Thus the official report (Prussian Press Service) issued February 28 stated:

> This fire is the most outrageous of a chain of terrorist crimes committed by Bolsheviks in Germany. Among the tons of seditious literature found by the police during the raid on the Karl Liebknecht Haus were numerous copies of detailed instructions for a campaign of Communist terror. According to these instructions government buildings, museums, castles and important industrial establishments were to be reduced to ashes. Communist leaders were instructed, during uprisings and street fighting, to line up women and children, preferably the families of government officials and policemen, in front of the terrorist ranks. The timely discovery of this evidence saved Germany from a Bolshevist revolution. The burning of the Reichstag was to be the signal for bloody revolt and civil war. On Tuesday at 4 A.M. Berlin's stores and warehouses were to be sacked. It is proved that on February 28 all Germany would have been swept by acts of individual terror against prominent individuals, and against the private property of peaceful citizens, to usher in a period of civil war.

Why, the astonished reader will ask, did the Reich Minister of the Interior and the Chief of Police of Berlin wait until after the Reichstag fire to take measures for the prevention of the "outbreak of the Bolshevik revolution"? On February 24 they had found the plans for the contemplated uprising. Not later than Sunday, February 26, the Chief of Police must have known of the plans, for on that day he reported to Göring. On February 25 the incendiary origin of the fire in the palace was established. But Göring and Admiral von Levetzow did nothing. They guarded neither public buildings nor palaces or museums.

This was one of their mistakes, but not the only one by far. There was van der Lubbe. Did they expect the world to swallow the fairy tale about this wandering journeyman from Holland? He had spent the night of February 17 in Glindow near Potsdam. Two days later he arrived in Berlin, and, if we may believe his story, at once gained the confidence of the Central Action Committee for the Revolution and to such a degree that he was selected to play the leading role in the important events that were to follow. Hardly more than a week later he was delegated by the Communists to set fire to the Reichstag building.

Surely Göbbels and Göring overestimate the credulousness of the world's public. They even reported that van der Lubbe admitted connections with the Social Democrats as well. In the report of the Prussian Press Service quoted above we read: "In his confession the man who set fire to the Reichstag admitted his connection with the Social Democratic party. Through his confession the Communist-Social Democratic United Front has apparently become an actuality."

Göbbels and Göring showed their lack of foresight in other directions. Immediately after the fire, according to the official report, three persons submitted sworn testimony that they had seen van der Lubbe in company with the Deputies Torgler and Könen in the Reichstag. The Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung reported that they "spent several hours in the Reichstag with the incendiary who was arrested Monday evening. Several other persons were also seen near him, some of them carrying torches. The two Deputies escaped arrest, so we hear from an authentic source, by making their way out of the Reichstag Building through the heating plant which runs beneath both the Reichstag and the official residence building of the Reichstag President."

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Again the reader might well ask why Torgler and his companions were permitted to walk about in full view of the public for hours, carrying their torches.

The Nationalist Peoples' party, though fully convinced of the need of aggressive measures against Communists, looked with unqualified disfavor on the use of such methods. When it met on the Tuesday after the fire, the Cabinet unanimously adopted a number of rigorous measures directed against the Communists, and to a certain extent, against the Social Democratic party. But they condemned the Reichstag incident, insisting that it must discredit the National Front in the eyes of the world. There was no mincing of words in this Cabinet meeting. The National Socialist motion to outlaw the Communist party did not prevail. As we have already suggested, the Nationalists needed the Communist deputies, for their removal would mean an absolute National Socialist majority in the parliament. The Cabinet also denied Göring the right to publish the forgeries found in the Karl Liebknecht Haus. It was argued that the publication of these obviously forged documents would implicate the government still more deeply in the whole unsavory affair. To the added discomfiture of the government, the Communist deputy Torgler presented himself at Police Headquarters on Tuesday morning. They would have much preferred his flight. Göring was instructed to make an official denial of the story that Torgler had given himself up.

Göring and Göbbels made the utmost of the chance to close down on Communist and Socialist propaganda during the election campaign. They knew that the story of the Communist origin of the Reichstag fire was believed by peasants, the petty bourgeois and the middle class throughout the country and that these elements would vote for the National Socialist party as the leader in the fight against the spectre of Bolshevism. But they were disquieted by the attitude of the German Nationalist Ministers in the Cabinet. They had not been able to gain the latter's consent to the suppression of the Communist party. They bitterly resented the stout resistance of the German Nationalists, the Steel Helmets and the Reichswehr to their incessant demands, and were more than ever determined to rid themselves of the iron embrace of their partners in government. The sooner the better. The leaders put their heads together.

Finally the Nazis decided on their coup d'etat on election day. They planned to occupy the government district in Berlin and to call upon Hindenburg either to consent to a reorganization of the government or to resign. In this case Hindenburg was to appoint Hitler as acting President and Göring as Chancellor. They also discussed the possibility of carrying out this bold stroke on the occasion of a huge parade of the Storm Troops through Berlin, scheduled to take place on Friday, March 3, in honor of Adolf Hitler.

The plan leaked out, however. At the last moment the German Nationalist Ministers insisted that Hitler relinquish his program of reviewing the parade in the Wilhelmstrasse. The thousands who had collected there to see the parade were informed, much to their surprise, that it would take a different course; that instead of passing through the Wilhelmstrasse it would go through the Prince Albrecht Strasse toward the west side of the city. The German Nationalists also promised to lead their Steel Helmets, who were to parade in honor of President Hindenburg on election day, from the government center. The leader of the Steel Helmets accepted this change in the route.

Meanwhile the position of the Nationalist Ministers was becoming untenable. There was danger that German Nationalist voters in large numbers would desert their party for the Nazi ranks. Their own agitation was no match for the unrestricted propaganda of the National Socialists. The Herren Klub, the groups about the Steel Helmets and the German Nationalist leaders conferred earnestly. The last-minute obstruction of the Nazi coup had made it clear that they must be prepared to use the Steel Helmets and Reichswehr against any overt act that the Nazis might plan for election night. The masses no longer followed Hindenburg. Adolf Hitler had become their demigod. To oppose the will of the people with a show of arms alone would be suicidal. They must act as unscrupulously as had Göring and Göbbels when they staged the Reichstag fire.

The following plan was decided upon: An official report of the findings of the investigation of the Reichstag fire was to be made public, so worded that the German Nationalists would later be able to prove, should it become necessary, that they had been on the track of National Socialist culprits at the time of its publication. Should the Nazi Ministers make an attempt to carry out their plan to take possession of the government district, a statement to this effect would be published broadcast, to discredit the Nazi Ministers in the eyes of the public.

It was hoped that this announcement would confuse the Nazi followers and restore leadership in the National Front to Hindenburg and the German Nationalists. They further prepared a proclamation to nationalist Germany in which Hindenburg revealed the Nazi plans, accusing Göring and Hitler of connivance in the Reichstag fire and calling upon the millions of Nazi supporters to take their stand behind Hindenburg to save the National Front from Marxism. In this way, it was hoped, the Nationalist masses could be won over to support a military dictatorship under Hindenburg. Hindenburg himself would stay away from the Steel Helmet demonstration and would spend the night of March 5 outside of Berlin under the protection of the Reichswehr. The Reichswehr would be held in readiness to march. . . .

ERNST OBERFOHREN.

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Money: Active and Static

IN SPITE of all the conversation for or against, in spite of the fears or hopes of interested parties, in spite of the recent rise in commodity and security prices, the rout of the dollar on the foreign exchange and the hectic increase in industrial activity, in spite of all this there has, as yet, under the Roosevelt administration, been no inflation of our monetary system. That is, there has been no increase in the actual amount of money in this country.

The amount of money, it must be remembered, is not measured by the comparatively small volume of currency in the hands of the public; it is measured by the volume of currency plus the volume of commercial bank deposits. For under normal circumstances the purchasing power of commercial deposit, is identical with that of a similar amount of a currency. Deposits and currency are interchangeable and, broadly speaking, there is nothing that can be done with the one form of money that cannot be done with the other.

Changes in the volume of currency outstanding are reported accurately each week by the Federal Reserve Board, and changes in the total volume of deposits are approximated by the weekly reports of the member banks of the Reserve System. For these deposits represent about 60 percent of all commercial deposits and are considered an excellent cross section of the deposit situation throughout the country. It appears, therefore, that the following table should be entirely indicative of any change which may be taking place in the total volume of money in this country. The figures are in millions of dollars.

	Currency	Deposits	Total Money
February 22...	$5,988	$16,785	$22,773
August 2.....	5,618	16,790[1]	22,408
Total Change..	$—370	$ +5	$—365

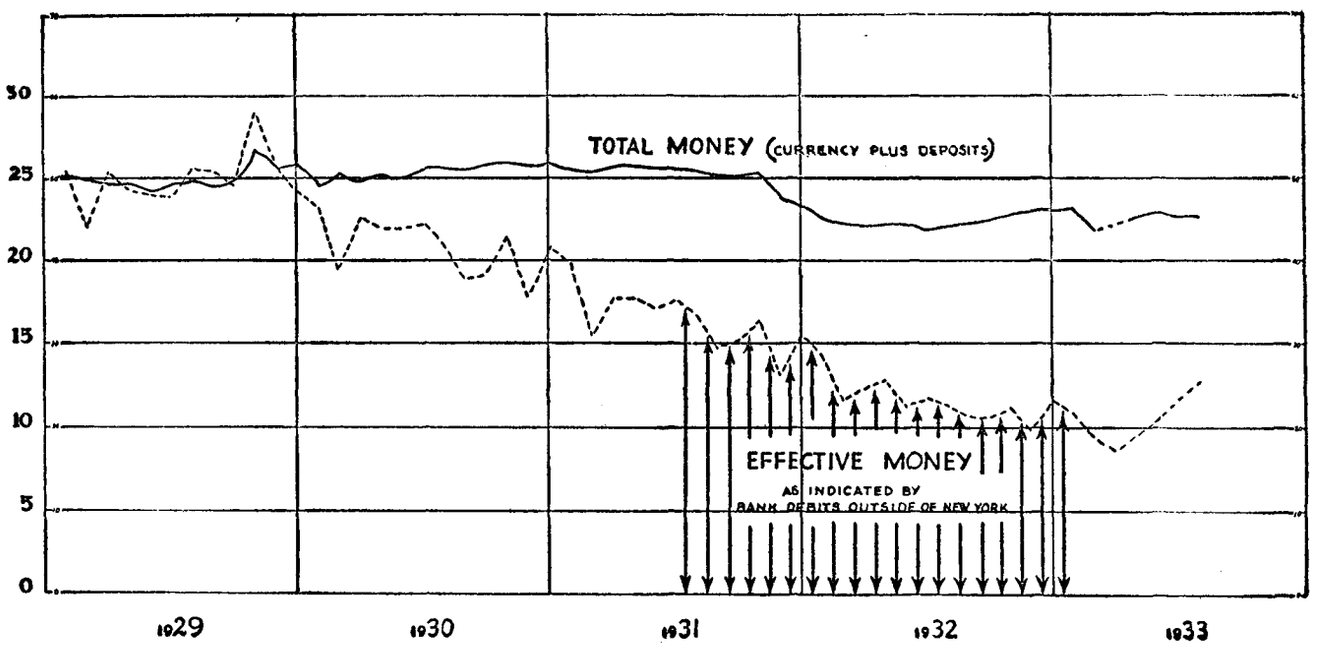
This indicated decrease of $365 million in the total volume of money is about one and one-half percent of the total. It is of almost negligible significance; but such significance as may be attached to it indicates a declining trend in the total volume of money. Even allowing for possible error due to the commercial deposits of the non-weekly reporting banks, therefore, it is safe to conclude that there has been, under the Roosevelt administration, no real increase in the volume of money in this country—no actual inflation of our monetary system which can possibly account for the intensely inflationary characteristics that have been so conspicuous in the past few months.

Whence, then, come these inflationary character-

[1] Before the bank holiday, the weekly reporting member banks included 101 centers; now they include only 90 centers. Adjustment has been made so that the figure given above reflects the approximate situation of the original 101 centers and is therefore comparable with the deposit figure of February 22.

TOTAL MONEY AND EFFECTIVE MONEY IN THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1929

The Figures on the Left Are in Billions of Dollars



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istics? If there is no monetary inflation, why have commodity and security prices risen so dramatically; why has our dollar depreciated in terms of gold and in terms of other currencies; what has brought about the intense stimulation of business? It is generally supposed that the unit value of money is, as in the case of other forms of wealth, dependent upon the volume. Increase the volume, and the tendency is to decrease the unit value; decrease the volume, and the tendency is to increase the unit value. Now, however, without any increase in the volume of money, we have witnessed the phenomenon of a drastically decreased unit value: the dollar has shrunk in terms of other forms of wealth.

The answer to these questions is offered by a consideration of the effective volume of money as opposed to the total volume of money. Money is effective as a medium of exchange and has an influence upon the price structure only as it is used in the exchange of other forms of wealth. If currency is hidden away in the mattresses and old sugar bowls of the poor, or in the more secure safe-deposit boxes of the wealthy, or if deposits stay month after month inactive in one bank account, such currency and such deposits are not part of the effective or circulating supply of money. And when any considerable amount of money is thus held in a static condition, the effective supply of money is greatly depleted.

One of the outstanding characteristics of the 1930, 1931 and 1932 period was a desire on the part of everybody to maintain large cash balances. Obviously, the realization of this desire by everybody was impossible, because there was only a certain amount of money to go around. The realization was possible, however, for thousands, perhaps millions, of individuals and corporations whose cash incomes continued to exceed their necessary cash expenses, and as larger and larger cash balances were amassed by these parties, the effective or circulating volume of money was steadily depleted.

With the advent of the Roosevelt administration, however, a change has taken place in the public attitude towards money. We now fear that the unit value of money is going to be decreased and the total volume is going to be increased. We fear inflation. Hence we are now abandoning the hoarding characteristics of 1930, 1931 and 1932, and we are again adopting the attitude of 1928 and 1929, when money was a thing to be desired, not that it might be held, but that it might be passed along for the acquisition of different forms of wealth.

What is happening now and has been happening ever since March is that the effective supply of money—that is, the amount of money being passed from hand to hand—is increasing rapidly. People who, up to March of this year, had thought of money as something to be held are now thinking of it as something to be spent, and gradually huge amounts of money that had been static are coming out to increase the circulating supply of the medium of exchange.

This situation is perhaps best brought out by a consideration of the chart on page 39. This chart shows the five-year trend of total volume of money (currency plus the deposits of member banks reporting weekly). And superimposed on this, and indicative of the volume of money entering into actual business transactions, is the five-year trend of bank debits outside of New York. By adjusting the latter factor so that for 1929 its average was the same as the average of total money, we are able to picture the tremendous decline that has taken place in the effective volume of money without a corresponding decline in the actual volume of money; and we are able, furthermore, to observe the marked increase that has recently taken place in the effective volume of money even though no material increase in the actual volume of money is in evidence.

Perhaps the most interesting conclusion that may be drawn from this chart is that while the effective supply of money has increased tremendously since March, a further very considerable increase in effective money is possible before the present volume of money is being utilized to the extent that it was in 1929.

Of course it can be argued that 1929 was not a normal year and that the effective or circulating supply of money had, in that year, an abnormally high ratio to the total volume of money. This is true to a degree, but if we take the period from 1922 to 1928 as normal, we still find that the June, 1933, rate of circulation of money was about 35 percent under normal, or, to put the matter another way, there is still room for a 50-percent increase in the circulating or effective supply of money, after the recent increase before our present volume of money will be utilized to its 1922-1928 demonstrated capacity.

This appears to be a very fortunate circumstance. For it means that without actual inflation of our monetary system, but merely by the continued threat of inflation, the administration can apparently force upon us a further increase in prosperity greater even than the increase we have already enjoyed. The critical point will be reached when our medium of exchange is circulating at what might be called a capacity rate. That is the time when the administration will be forced to make one of three choices: first, it can make good its inflationary threat; second, it can adopt a laissez-faire attitude towards money which would permit, although it could not cause, another rapid decrease in the effective supply; third, it can develop some other device which would keep the existing amount of money circulating at a normal rate, and which would thereby ensure for this country the effective supply of money which it requires for the conduct of its business.

STEPHEN M. FOSTER.

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Art, the Proletariat and Marx

JOSEPH FREEMAN has been complaining in The New Masses of the ignorance of the amateur Marxist critics. One of the things he feels it would help them to have read is a book called "Voices of October" (published by the Vanguard Press), a report on "Art and Literature in Soviet Russia" prepared by Joshua Kunitz, Louis Lozowick and himself.

Mr. Freeman is entirely right. The controversy between the amateur Marxists and their opponents has been proceeding on an extremely low level. The anti-Marxists in nine cases out of ten do not understand the Marxist position; and the Marxists unfortunately all too often do not understand their own position. The result is a sort of peevish free-for-all, full of kicks in the ankles, digs in the ribs, nose-tweakings, plaintive bleats, shrieks of exasperation, threatening gestures, frightening grimaces and nasty innuendos, above which from time to time the harsh voice of fanaticism rises. If only the anti-Marxists would cease to be so catty and the radicals so cocksure, long enough to read, say, the first chapter of "Voices of October," which provides an admirable resumé, from Marx down to the present time, of Marxist theory and Communist policy in the field of art and literature.

Some of the assumptions in the minds of the anti-Marxists are capable of formulation as follows: (1) the Communist believes that all art and literature ought to be political propaganda; (2) the Communist believes that all art and literature *are* political propaganda; (3) the Communist believes that the art and literature of the past ought to be thrown overboard in their entirety; (4) the Communist believes that all the art and literature produced during the domination of the bourgeoisie should be spat upon and destroyed; (5) the Communist believes that art and literature should describe the world exclusively from the proletarian point of view and promote the interests of the proletariat. There are, of course, a number of different positions mixed up among these assumptions; but the critics, radicals sometimes as well as anti-radicals, do not define their terms and allow the discussion to remain in confusion: it seems to be enough for them if they can feel that they are making themselves disagreeable to one another.

Well, if they would look up "Voices of October," they would find that all these matters had been debated for years in the Soviet Union and they would learn what the leading Communists had thought about them and what the action of the Communist party had been.

One fact which Mr. Freeman does not emphasize should be clearly understood at the beginning. Marx and Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, were all men of an unusual range of interests, who read in the most varied fields and had a high appreciation of literature. Marx, who ran up a line of Dante like a flag at the end of the preface to "Das Kapital," knew the "Divine Comedy" almost by heart, says Wilhelm Liebknecht in his memoir, as well as yards of Shakespeare and Goethe, and loved to recite them on Sunday outings. Lenin's literary taste was excellent: see the list of books ordered for his library; and see his comments on Beethoven and Tolstoy in "Voices of October" and Gorky's "Days with Lenin." For Trotsky's literary interests, see "My Life" and "Literature and Revolution." The genius of all these men lay in the intensity of their imaginations and in the skill with which through the written and spoken word they were able to arouse others to see human life and history as they did. Poets themselves in their political vision, they understood the great poets much better than some of their literary followers. It is just the difference between Clifton Fadiman in his essay in The Nation on Goethe (stimulating though that was) and Engels on Goethe (reprinted in The New Masses). It turns out that whereas Mr. Fadiman, in the interests presumably of Marxism, is prepared not without impatience to bury Goethe forever, Engels, in pointing out how Goethe's work was influenced by his social position, expresses for him high admiration and speaks of him invariably with respect. It cannot be insisted too strongly for the benefit of radicals and their opponents alike that the great Communists have been men who fully understood the importance of art and literature and whose primary idea about them in connection with the revolution was that they wanted to make it possible for more people to get the benefit of them. Nor did they deny the value of the literature and art produced while the bourgeoisie were in the ascendant. On the contrary, they credited to the bourgeoisie the main cultural achievements of the period when the bourgeoisie had been the rising and revolutionary class. They were aware that they themselves derived from the bourgeois culture. And they attacked it only in so far as it was used to defend and cover up the iniquities of the capitalist system.

When the October Revolution occurred in Russia and the proletarian dictatorship was established, the Communist leaders were confronted with competing literary movements each of which was trying to control the field. One of these groups was the Futurists, of whom the best known to us by reputation is the romantic figure Mayakovsky. The Futurists were literary terrorists and wanted to abolish the past. But Russian Futurism in the first instance had nothing to do with communism: it dated from before the Revolution and was only the Russian form

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of a tendency which was appearing all over Europe. The French equivalents to the Futurists were the Dadaists, whose point of view toward society was, at first at any rate, anarchic-individualistic; and Papini, in his book on Italian Futurism, attempted a similar annihilation of the culture of the ages not long before announcing himself a primitive Christian and an admirer of Mussolini. The Russian Futurists, after the Revolution, tried to hook up their movement with communism and asked for official recognition. But this Lunacharsky, then Commissar of Education, refused to grant them. Another group which sought official backing was called the Proletcult. The writers who constituted the Proletcult did not, as the Futurists had, want to break with the past competely—the proletariat was, according to A. A. Bogdanov, its leader, "the legitimate heir of all the great achievements of the old world, both spiritual and material" and could not and must not "reject this heritage." But the Proletcult aimed—independently of the party—at establishing a dictatorship over Soviet culture—they wanted to assume exclusive control of molding the new literature. Lenin put a stop to this. He asserted that proletarian culture could not be produced synthetically and by official dictation of policy, but only by natural evolution at the same pace as the changing conditions of life:

> Proletarian culture is not something arising from an unknown source; it is not the invention of people who call themselves specialists in the realm of proletarian culture. Such a notion is pure nonsense. Proletarian culture must be the legitimate development of those reserves of knowledge which society worked for under the oppression of capitalism, the landlords, the officials.

Later on, another group, *Na Postu,* taking a position similar to that of the Proletcult, tried not merely to dominate Russian culture but to become an official organ of the Party, in order that it might exercise a virtual power of suppression upon writers of whom it disapproved. This precipitated a cultural-political crisis, and a special conference was called by the Party (May, 1924) to decide the issues involved. Bukharin, who had previously disagreed with Lenin and supported the Proletcult, now somewhat modified his position: "The cultural problem," he said, "is different from the military problem; it cannot be decided by blows or mechanical means." He advocated that the Party refrain from giving any group its official sanction—but let "the important questions of style and form be solved on the basis of merit rather than political pressure." He was supported by Lunacharsky, who, in his capacity as Commissar of Education, had been working both to encourage new Russian writers and to preserve the Russian culture of the past, and who expressed the sufficiently catholic view that "all art was useful if it showed talent." The conference adopted a resolution in which the Party put itself on record as opposed both to "all frivolous and contemptuous estimates of the cultural heritage of the past" and to "a frivolous and contemptuous attitude toward specialists in style." The Party could not decide questions of form and style in the arts, it could not recognize officially any cultural faction. Communist critics were warned against "Communist arrogance"—against attempting to impose themselves by "adopting a tone of command" instead of seeking to educate by force of "ideological superiority."

This, however, is not the whole story. The resolution of the 1924 conference goes on to make clear that "though the class nature of art generally and of literature especially is infinitely more varied than that of politics," there can nevertheless be no such thing "as neutral art in a class society," and that the Political Bureau must be on the watch for the recrudescence under the guise of literature and art of counter-revolutionary propaganda. That this vigilance has been exercised in Russia, however, any more stupidly than in any other country in a similar situation would, it seems to me, be very difficult to prove. A nation at war, a social system in danger, inevitably exercises a censorship from which art and literature suffer; and the Soviet Union has been both. Has it committed any worse blunders than were committed by the United States during the World War, that precarious hour for world capitalism, when Mencken had his house searched, when Charles Beard had to resign from Columbia and when Max Eastman and Floyd Dell and Art Young had their magazine suppressed and had to stand trial for having published it? Have the Soviets exerted a moral pressure any more covertly effective than has been exerted in America since the War, with John Reed forced into the service of the Comintern by the closing of the American literary market to him after he had come out a little too outspokenly on the wrong side of the economic fight, and with so many lesser writers forced by the newspapers and the monthlies and The Saturday Evening Post, in esthetic as well as political matters, around from the wrong side to the right side?

In Russia, they have at least had men of the caliber of Lenin and Trotsky and Lunacharsky in a position to intervene for the writers and artists against all the ignorant and the arrogant and, among artists and writers themselves, the envious, the philistine and the pedantic, who are always ready to seize any advantage a political emergency may afford to penalize and coerce their bolder or more gifted fellows (see Chaliapin's acknowledgment to Lenin in his memoirs for rescuing the stage finery of the old plays from the local Communist officials who were about to purify his theatre). From Mr. Kunitz's chapter on Soviet literature—which what reading one has done oneself confirms—it is clear that the Russians have dealt quite fully with the peculiar problems and dramas of their new life. Of course, if they want to be counter-revolutionary or to write in praise of Trotsky, they will have to be prepared to take it; but then the writer with an unpopular point of view always has to be

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prepared to take it in one way or another—is exile harsher than neglect? And the amenities of free inquiry and discussion for which The American Spectator and Mr. Joseph Wood Krutch have lately been appealing so plaintively are possible only in stable societies during periods of power and security. What is the use of merely invoking them in this way without regard for the conditions they depend on, as the Indians invoke the weather?

But there is also a positive side to the Russian program which will equally offend the enemies of Russia. "The leadership of literature belongs to the working class as a whole, with all its material and ideological resources. . . . The Party must stress the necessity of creating literature suitable for the mass of workers and peasant readers. There should be a more courageous and decisive break with genteel prejudices in literature, and all technical achievements of the old literary masters should be used in a manner that will be comprehensible to the masses." In the Russia of the Tsars, a majority of the people could neither read nor write—70 percent of 140 millions, according to a census taken in 1920; and the European culture acquired by the upper-class intelligentsia had always had a foreign aspect. The writers themselves felt it and tended either, like Turgenev, to live abroad and to try to assimilate themselves to western Europeans, or like Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, made uneasy and unhappy by the gulf between themselves and the 70 percent of their illiterate compatriots, to try to establish a relation with them. This problem and the attitudes it gave rise to, remained after the Revolution. Most of the talk one hears nowadays about "proletarian culture" is simply a parroting of discussions in Russia which are only another product of the same situation which caused Tolstoy to put on the mujik's blouse, and have no relevance whatever to conditions among us. Nor is the belief in a "proletarian culture" even implied by Marxism. Trotsky held that even in Russia the task was not to concoct "an abstract culture without any real foundation," but to promote "an actual, concrete culture—*i. e.*, the systematic, planned and, of course, critical absorption by the backward masses of the most necessary elements of that culture which already exists." "The twenty, thirty or fifty years of proletarian world revolution," would "go down in history as the most difficult climb from one system to another but in no case as an independent epoch of proletarian culture." By the time the people at large had learned to read and write well enough to produce a real culture, the proletariat would have disappeared in the classless socialist society. In this, I hold with Trotsky. I find that I am constantly being accused by my fellow journalists nowadays of advocating "proletarian culture," "proletarian literature," or something of the kind. On the only occasion when I have discussed this matter (in The New Republic, May 4, May 11, 1932) I expressed the view set forth here. A socialist society in America could not conceivably imply a cultural revolution describable as "proletarian." We should get rid of the advertisers and not be forced to buy the things they advertise, but we should still want a good many of the things we are used to having, and the first fruits of a socialist regime would probably closely resemble taking the Boom up again where it left off. As for literature, the percentage of illiterates in this country is only something like 4 percent; and the literates will unquestionably be reading stuff which derives from and resembles what they are reading now. The different social groups in America probably come nearer to speaking the same language than in any other country in the world. The farmer and the banker, the employer and the employee, even when the wedge of the class struggle is driven between them, have no difficulty of communication. And if it is a question of the use in literature of the popular life and language, the nation which has produced "Leaves of Grass" and "Huckleberry Finn" has nothing to learn from Russia or from any other country, either in the use of the common language or in the expression of the dignity and importance of the common man. Our pioneers had created a literature of the common man's escape from bourgeois society long before the Russian masses were beginning to learn to write their names.

The point of view of the pioneer American who liberated himself from society—the Whitman, the Huckleberry Finn, the Thoreau—was, however, of course not at all the same as that of the revolutionary Marxist. A socialist regime in America will not make culture "proletarian," but it will certainly in the long run modify it profoundly—in form and style no doubt, as well as in point of view. Precisely *how* it will be modified is interesting to wonder about, but rather fruitless seriously to debate: such changes cannot be dealt with until after they have occurred, and it is no use trying to throw overboard all the excellent books which we have actually got in the interests of books that haven't been written yet. That is why it made me rather uneasy (all the more for my previous appreciation of some of the same writer's social-economic studies of American novelists) to read Granville Hicks on "The Crisis in Criticism" in the February New Masses. Mr. Hicks draws up a list of requirements which the ideal work of Marxist literature must meet. Its primary function must be, he asserts, to "lead the proletarian reader to recognize his role in the class struggle"—and therefore it must (1) "directly or indirectly, show the effects of the class struggle"; (2) "the author must be able to make the reader feel that he is participating in the lives described"; and, finally, (3) the author's point of view must "be that of the vanguard of the proletariat. . . . He should not merely believe in the cause of the proletariat; he should be, or should try to make himself, a member of the proletariat." This formula, he says, "gives us . . . a standard by which to recognize the perfect Marxian novel"—and adds "no novel as yet written perfectly conforms to our demands."

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This all reminds me a little too much of the formulas of the Humanists, whose masterpiece (with hesitations) turned out to be "The Bridge of San Luis Rey." And just as the formulas of the Humanists, if they had been laid down before, instead of after, the existence of Shakespeare, and of Sophocles himself, whom the Humanists professed to approve of, would have made it impossible to admit their greatness; so the formulas of Mr. Hicks seem to me largely inapplicable to the already written literature of Marxism. Were Marx and Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, members of the proletariat or did they "try to make themselves" so? Was their point of view "that of the vanguard of the proletariat"? It depends on what you mean by "point of view." These men had identified their political interests with those of the proletariat; and in matters of direct action, they followed the proletariat rather than led it. But they were certainly not proletarians (Engels helped run his father's factory and Marx lived on Engels' salary), and they did not attempt to become proletarians. They would not have wanted to even if they had been able to, because this would have been to divest themselves of the wider education and experience—of precisely those invaluable ingredients of their "point of view"—which enabled them to instruct the proletariat in its own historic role, to bring intellectual backing to its conviction and to guide it, after it had triumphed, in planning the new society. They were aiming at a point of view and a culture beyond those of their bourgeois education; but it was a point of view above classes, not a proletarian point of view—they were trying to develop an intellectual discipline which should lay the foundations for "the first truly human culture." Today the bourgeois writer and the vanguard of the proletariat can meet on the basis of the classless Marxist culture, which is accessible to both—to say nothing of the general democratic culture which Americans have had in common since the days of the village store.

And if Mr. Hicks's formulas will not fit the Marxist classics, how do we know that they will enable him to recognize the perfect Marxist novel when it comes? The best American novel about the class struggle I have ever read is Dreiser's "American Tragedy," which deals with the effect of big bourgeois ideals on a middle-class boy and a country girl: the class struggle is the struggle in the soul of Clyde Griffiths between his desire to get away from his proletarian occupation and up into the world of his rich relatives, and his purely human solidarity with Roberta. And this does not conform to Mr. Hicks's requirements either.

There remains to be considered the question of propaganda. I don't want here to attempt the task of demonstrating to people who think otherwise that there is no such thing as a work of literature or art which does not embody a point of view, and that every point of view has been molded by the circumstances of the person who holds it. There are people who are aware of this; and there are people who, due to absorption in some special pursuit or study, have the illusion that the intellectual or the esthetic or the moral activity of man takes place in some sort of vacuum. And there are also people who will admit that literature and art are affected by race, nationality, climate, sexual tendencies and physical constitution, but will not admit that they can be affected by the way in which the author and his readers make their livings or the sources from which they derive their incomes. (Neither Marx nor his followers believed that there was nothing more in literature and art than the expression of economic appetites; they thought that philosophy and art were part of what Marx called a "superstructure" which rested on the base of the "social relations" of the prevailing system of society—social relations which derived their peculiar character from the "methods of production." Marx was not a crude mechanist of the kind who used to talk about consciousness as a "phosphorescence" which ran parallel to, without affecting, physical processes.)

The latter two classes of people I have mentioned believe they are opposed to propaganda in literature and art. They object, for example, to what they consider the propaganda in Russian films. This seems a glaring instance of propaganda. It was Lenin—I learn from "Voices of October"—who first urged the importance of the movie as an instrument of education and arranged that the subject matter of films be controlled by the official propaganda bureau. What the great Russian movies then were designed to convey were Lenin's views of human society in general and his aims for Russian society in particular. Well, this is not the first time in history that the philosophy of a great institution, the hopes and ideals of a nation, have been made the subject of art. What about Virgil writing the Georgics to advance Augustus's agricultural policy? What about his glorification in the Aeneid of Roman imperialism? What about Horace's "inaugural" odes? Horace's Regulus, who, having forfeited his life by doing his duty as a Roman, went back to meet the "barbarian torturer" like a man leaving town for the seaside (just as the boy in "The Road to Life" gets murdered by his old associates as the price of saving the collective), is certainly an ideal figure designed to teach the Roman virtues. No one knows whether the story is even true. But it has never occurred to me on that account to fail to admire Horace's poem. Nor to think less of Fra Angelico or Giotto because they depended for their subject matter on the history and the mythology of the Roman Catholic Church and because they sought loyally to illustrate the central beliefs of the Church. But the same people who take propaganda for granted when Virgil or Giotto has done it, will outlaw it when Eisenstein or Diego Rivera does it. They don't mind having Judas play the part of a stock villain in a picture of the Last Supper, but they can't stand a caricature of Keren-

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sky. They think it noble that a Roman general should be made to perform perfect acts of heroism, but they object to seeing them performed by a Russian peasant.

This is where we have something to learn from Russia. If our own national ideals were in good health at this time, you may be sure that we should have works of literature and art which would act as propaganda for them. One of the most dismaying things about the crisis, it seems to me—one of the worst evidences of the surrender of the republic to financial and industrial power—has been our inability to muster for the emergency any symbols or myths from our national past. It seems such a long time today since anybody has written anything stirring about the embattled farmers and the shot heard round the world. And though we still have books about Lincoln, the rail-splitter ceased to be a real national hero to anybody but Carl Sandburg in proportion as Henry Ford became one, and is now a subject for psychoanalysis. The plain man who freed the slaves was imperceptibly supplanted by the plain man who got to be a great manufacturer and worked people hard for a high wage. The only thing we have today in the way of national propaganda is "Gabriel Over the White House," inspired by Mr. Hearst. "Gabriel Over the White House" is bad, not because it is propaganda, but because it is Hollywood and Hearst; and let those who find it unpalatable reflect on the differences between it and "Potemkin" or "The End of St. Petersburg" and think twice before they reject every work which has had its wits sharpened on the theory, its heart fired by a ray of the hope, of that world where the bureau of propaganda had its functions settled by Lenin.

These are my opinions on this subject, and now let people leave me in peace!

EDMUND WILSON.

Washington Notes

The General Goes Forth to War—Who Stabilizes First?—Inflating in a Democracy—The Colonel's Red Snoopers

DESPITE skeptics, this is a real war here in Washington. As I write, the steel, coal and public-utilities industries still categorically refuse to agree to codes acceptable to the administration. The administration will not give in; neither will the steel, coal and public-utilities magnates. A sudden compromise is always conceivable, but at the present time it looks as if the war would be fought to a finish.

Some of my fellow war correspondents seem to be having difficulty in deciding who is fighting whom. Familiar formulas do not fit. On one side they see the United States Steel Corporation, the Bethlehem, the bituminous operators' associations, the big open-shop electric and gas companies. So they conclude this must be a struggle between capital and labor. Then, on the other side, they discover General Johnson, the habitué of Wall Street, friend of Bernard M. Baruch, and certainly no labor leader. In fact, they have a certain justification in feeling baffled. This ought to be a labor fight here; it just isn't—as yet. The N.R.A. so far stands simply for industrial control by government; no one can say whether its ultimate direction is to be towards state capitalism or socialism.

The most interesting event of the last few days is the change of attitude of General Johnson towards the erstwhile "respectables" of American business. In his recent press conferences, the General has been extremely bitter towards the steel executives. There is reason to think that it has been pointed out to the General that the steel and coal companies and the utilities—the three industrial groups which have been most reluctant in submitting codes—are also the three most closely identified with the House of Morgan. Last March, at the height of the bank panic, Mr. Lamont and even Mr. Morgan, were almost fulsome in praise of the Roosevelt administration. But now it seems that, quite apart from the N.R.A., the House of Morgan deeply resents the Securities Act, and is immoderately angry at Mr. A. A. Berle's recurrent suggestion that the government ought to assume charge of all new investment business.

The stature of the antagonists confronting him does not, apparently, feaze General Johnson in the least. He has announced that, if the steel companies do not within a limited time submit a satisfactory code, he will write one himself, and summarily impose it on the industry. If the steel companies then try to ignore the code, their officers can be indicted, made to stand trial and if convicted lugged off to Atlanta.

One experienced observer of monetary policy here believes there is little hope of results from the present English-American stabilization talks. The British, he says, will never agree to stabilize simultaneously with us. The reason for this is the unique circumstances surrounding Great Britain's departure from gold. When a nation leaves gold, the usual thing that happens is a flight of domestic capital; in our own case Americans have probably shipped abroad since last March about half a billion dollars. But when Britain went off gold in 1931, the national complacency of Englishmen was such that there was no flight of capital whatever.

Now when stabilization takes place, fugitive American funds will come streaming back to the United States, which should mean a great inward movement of gold. Since the largest part of our exported capital has found haven in London, most of the gold—assuming England should stabilize at the same time as we did—would have to come from there. As there are no fugitive British funds abroad, there would be no equivalent inflow of gold into England. Whatever gold Britain lost to us, consequently, would be a net loss. This the British will never agree to, for fear of dangerously depleting their Equalization Fund, with adverse repercussions on their money market and industry. The British are almost certain to demand that we stabilize first, and permit them an interval to judge the effect of our action upon their economy.

However, should we agree to stabilize first, and should there be a return flow of American funds into this country,

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the inevitable result would be to drive the pound down as far as the English wish to see it go. And we should not be able to complain, either, since it would be the repatriation of American money which would be the primary factor in the pound's depreciation. All the British need to do, in short, is to outwait Mr. Roosevelt. My informant believes the British all along have intended that the pound's permanent value should be one-third lower than the dollar. What the pound's value is in relation to other currencies is considered a minor matter.

About once a day, Washington is shaken by a "hot" rumor concerning inflation. To the present commentator, this whole question of inflation furnishes dramatic proof of the impracticability of democracy in a capitalist state. Mr. Roosevelt may very well resort to inflation; indeed, there are administration members who believe the exigencies of the N.R.A. will make inflation inevitable. No other administration act could possibly touch the life of every individual in the country so deeply and intimately as inflation would. Yet should Mr. Roosevelt decide on inflation, none of us will know anything about it until after it is irrevocable. This is inescapable from the facts of the case. If any inkling of the President's intentions became known, it would enable speculators prematurely to manipulate prices to the point that would make the government's own financing prohibitively expensive, if not impossible, wrecking the administration's public works program. There is nothing the government, without a far more radical change in our present system than has yet been suggested, could do to forestall such speculation. The fact is that in this country there are persons of wealth who have precisely the same independent position in relation to the government that the great nobles occupied in relation to the feudal king. Mr. Roosevelt, like the feudal king, must manage these persons of wealth the best he can. In the case of inflation, he must protect himself by the greatest secrecy, which means that all the rest of us must be kept in the dark as well.

Colonel Louis McHenry Howe is on his way to becoming an administration menace. You will recall the affair of the conservation camp-toilet kits. You will recall that Colonel Howe signed a contract with a commercial broadcaster who was permitted to announce that Colonel Howe would deliver up, every Sunday evening, a crackling White House secret. The present nationwide crime hunt is Colonel Howe's most recent exploit. However, once you start speculating how many innocent people are hanged or electrocuted as a result of a crime crusade like the present one, you are in for a bad time emotionally, and it is best not to do it. The really serious thing is that, after a series of conferences in which Colonel Howe was the chief figure, the Department of Justice has dispatched some sixty operatives on a Red hunt to the Pennsylvania coal districts, and more are supposed to follow. Colonel Howe certainly knew these operatives were being sent, and it is inexcusable that he didn't stop them. For one thing, the fear of left-wing strikes is one of the chief weapons the administration has to force the steel companies to agree to a legal N.R.A. steel code.

Washington. T. R. B.

Other People's Money

Rising with Inflation—Nets to Catch the Wind—New Jersey's Open House—Relief and Recovery Codes

BEFORE this can appear in print, we will have had another full-fledged market boom or the present incipient boomlet will have collapsed. In any case, in spite of the crash which shook the country on July 19, the gamblers in the Street are already busy engineering another bull raid. No one in Washington will bother about it until it cracks. Then high officials will begin talking about the bears.

The first boost in the market after the Roosevelt regime got under way was the fruit of inflation sentiment. Then when the newspapers broke into the full flight of the prosperity ballyhoo the market went up further on that gust of wind. It crashed July 19. Now the inflation pumps are being used once more on the market. The fiddling around with this issue in Washington is being seized upon by the traders on the exchanges to start things going, and last week they were especially busy with the idea. It may be interesting to observe that in Wall Street the conviction that inflation is coming is based upon the Street's belief that without it the recovery program will blow up.

As a result we see that in the last eight days an issue like American Commercial Alcohol—which has no connection with prohibition—with only 194,000 shares outstanding, had a turnover of 122,000 shares. This means, of course, that professionals are again busy making a market for that stock. Commercial Solvents had a turnover of 139,000 shares in one day, and over half a million in a week. Nearly 60 percent of the outstanding National Distillers Products was bought and sold in eight days. These are among the shares which were used to take the public for a ride in the last little boom.

It has been reported that the Stock Exchange's gesture to "curb speculation" by requiring "larger margins" was the result of pressure from the Senate Committee. It must be apparent now that the so-called higher margins are not higher at all, that the Exchange put over a tawdry hoax upon the Committee and the public, as was pointed out in this department last week, and that now the pressure on it should be renewed to force margins of at least 50 percent of the whole account in all cases.

What is more, the Senate Committee owes it to the country to learn where the funds are coming from for these adventures. Who is operating these pools? What do the officials of the companies involved know of them? What banks are supplying the money? They are, of course, those very New York banks which announced ostentatiously to Washington a few weeks ago that they were ready to "do their part." As nearly as I can make out, these banks, with some seven billion dollars in loans and investments, have only a little over a billion in commercial loans of various sorts. They have almost as much in the stock market and the rest of it in direct security loans and investments. So far as taking any part in the attempted recovery of the country is concerned, these banks might just as well not be in existence.

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However, I despair of getting the administration to do anything really constructive about speculation. It is difficult to believe that Washington is not really interested in getting prices up when we hear such an amazing appeal as that made by Mr. George N. Peek, Farm Administrator, to the grain exchanges. Mr. Peek practically served notice on the grain-exchange traders that unless they could "get these farm prices up—not after the farmer has sold his grain, but before"—they would face drastic restrictive legislation next winter. They got prices up pretty well in the first half of July. Dear old "Doc" Crawford bankrupted himself in the process. But they didn't keep them up. Now the government demands that the traders and gamblers on the Board of Trade in Chicago shall force prices up and keep them up or they will get a spanking from the government. This scheme is a new kind of farm relief.

Two states are contesting for the possession of the New York Stock Exchange. Either of them would be a poetically fit place for that institution. They are Delaware and New Jersey. The principal commodities dealt in on the Stock Exchange are the securities which are ground out from the security mills of these two charter-mongering states. Delaware already supports her school system through her share of the swag in the issuance of Delaware charters and some of her patriots favor doing away with all other state taxation. If she could get the Stock Exchange, they would not require any taxation whatever. Of course, it would cost the rest of the country billions, just as the outrageous corporation laws of that state now cost the nation billions. Having made such a success of one racket there is no reason why the state should not have its affiliated racket—the Exchange. But it will have to overcome the rivalry of that eminent Democrat, Governor A. Harry Moore of New Jersey. It might be an excellent thing to paste in our hats—for reference when the New Jersey Governor is looking for party honors in the future—the fact that at a time when speculation is making a peculiarly ugly spectacle of itself, Governor Moore cordially invites the Exchange to settle in New Jersey. Well, when the race-horse and handbook rackets got too hot for the health under Mayor Hylan in New York City some years ago these gamblers were welcomed with open arms to New Jersey. Why not the Exchange now?

While we are celebrating all the jobs created by the N.R.A.—most of which are purely mythical—let us not overlook some of the offsetting factors which help to explain the failure of retail sales to rise in the least, despite all the ballyhoo. The city of New York in July, in spite of the fact that its available relief revenues were less, was compelled to add about 21,000 families to its relief rolls. But it distributed among them one million dollars less than it did in June. If we take $15 a week as the minimum wage of the N.R.A. codes, we will see that a million dollars equals the wages of 16,000 persons in the month. That cut in relief, therefore, is equal to firing 16,000 men. In the United States as a whole, the drop in relief payments was $3 million which is equal to firing 50,000 men at the N.R.A. scale.

JOHN T. FLYNN

Ideas for the Opera

NOW THAT in raising a $300,000 subscription fund from the public at large the Metropolitan Opera has placed itself in the ranks of public institutions, perhaps it will not seem brazen for one of the crowd to arise to remark, modestly, that not all the works in the house's repertory, the cheap "Pagliacci" and the brutal "Cavaleria" for example, can be thought to represent the category of the good, the true and the beautiful at its most lucent; and that not all the types of operatic pieces which illustrate this category are to be found in its repertory; not even all of those the old men, to say nothing of the moderns, have made to shine.

The latter truth was forcibly borne in on us by the initiative of a couple of little institutions which, during the past season, revealed the unfamiliar beauties of works of three sorts; the neglect of which, on the part of a house dedicated to keeping before the public what has been truly felt by operatic composers and truly expressed by them, now appears unjustifiable. The first of these experimental little institutions is the MacDowell Club of New York. Its demonstration was made on the two Sunday evenings last February on which it gave performances of the court masque "Oberon," written in 1611 by Ben Jonson for James I; with sets and costumes based on the original designs of Inigo Jones; and with the anonymous original music, probably by Alfonso Ferrabosco the younger, which is preserved in the British Museum manuscript, together with dances, songs and choruses drawn from the works of Hilton, Holborne, Giles and other Jacobean composers.

Part of the fun of the little performance arose without a doubt from the historical reconstruction, the atmosphere of court life conveyed by it. For instance: six of the feminine members of the cast who represented ladies of the court, gravely took seats at the commencement of the performance in the front row of the spectators; and during the portion of the masque designed for execution by the court itself, the actors impersonating the princes masqued as Oberon and his knights descended to them from the stage, ceremoniously escorted them onto the boards, and there danced *pavanes, galliards* and *correntos* most nobly with them. Again, on the first Sunday night, the central places of honor were occupied by the British Consul and his lady; and it was to these royal representatives that the audience heard the splendid compliments intended for James and "his great empress" amusingly addressed. Still, the main refreshment of the little show flowed from the intrinsic charm of the grave, gay and tender music, suffused with the delicate colors of early morning and of spring, from the vigorous morris and stately social dances, and the deliciously versified dialogue, combined by the little fable framing the masque. And it was precisely because the performance was so delectable, especially in those portions of it undertaken by the English Folk Dance Society and the musicians under Sandor Harmati, that one found oneself unable to keep from wishing to see it given by an institution which disposed of the superior theatrical and musical resources and the large auditorium of the Metropolitan.

The seventeenth-century court masque legitimately falls to the institution's share. It falls to it as one of the im-

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mediate ancestors of the opera: the step from the entertainments of Jonson and Ferrabosco to the ballet-operas of Lulli and Rameau being indeed a very brief one. It falls to it as providing exquisite opportunities for the pompous and ceremonial spectacles which it is part of the function of the opera to purvey, especially in democratic countries which see few of them under natural conditions. And it falls to it last but not least as the theatrical vehicle of the aristocratic English pastoral music of which we hear far too little in these hectic days. In any case, its noble formalities would provide a very welcome relief from the vulgarities of the Metropolitan's perennial curtain-raisers.

The second of the minor institutions which this season pointed to further species of operatic works unnecessarily neglected by the Metropolitan, is the operatic department of the Juilliard School of Music. The first of its two demonstrations took the form of the production of an opera by Handel: the tragi-comic "Serse" (Xerxes) whose beginning proves so surprising to modern audiences for the reason that as the curtain rises, the tyrant, discovered reclining underneath a plane tree, begins singing the famous "Largo," "Ombra mai fù," the melody they have been led to consider a religious meditation; and which here reveals its true character in expressing idyllic sentiment in the elegant manner of the period. The performance up on Claremont Avenue had not progressed a good deal before the Handelian stage-piece, through the present example of the species, the first one this reviewer, and for all he knows, this city, has seen enacted, affirmed its immense appropriateness to the lyric stage at this very time. It is evidently a prime representative of the strict type of the opera, insomuch as the divinely powerful and jolly music furthers the action only in its recitatives; and in the arias suspends it entirely, providing the singers with magnificent opportunities for the broad, formal and sustained musical expression of purely typical emotions. And just this divergency from the music-drama, in which the aria like the recitative constitutes an active expression of drama, recommends the Handelian opera to our epoch, temporarily fed up on psychological music by too steady a diet of the delicacy; and favorable to formal expressions unsupported by the illusion of reality. It is indeed to Handel that as shrewdly unmusico-dramatic a work as Stravinsky's "Mavra" directly points.

That the Handelian opera is handicapped by the artificiality of its plots and its bareness of concerted singing, is not to be denied. But the Juilliard's experiment seemed to prove that the unreal and the impossible in Handel's plots remains preferable to the childish verism of modern operas; and that even where it is somewhat too exclusively cast in the forms of arias, operatic music can still enchant, especially when it is strong and fresh and true.

Even more recently, the school revived another prime representative of another genus: Cimarosa's charming buffo-opera "Il Matremonio Segreto" (The Clandestine Marriage), which has been ignored by New York since 1834; gave it quite effectively indeed; so very effectively in fact that sitting and listening to the laughing, sparkling little melodies with which Cimarosa apparently effortlessly filled his graceful work, it became perfectly clear why Henri Beyle-Stendhal adored the composition and the composer all his life. Never again, indeed, would the celebrated phrases in "La Vie de Henri Brulard"—"I drove all the way from St. Cloud to Paris to hear an act of 'Il Matremonio' " or "I find perfectly beautiful only the songs of two composers, Cimarosa and Mozart, and you'd have to hang me before you could make me sincerely say which of the two I preferred"—appear inexplicable.

For in "Il Matremonio," Eros holds the fiddle in his hand, as firmly as anywhere, for all the puckish playfulness of his mood. Not even the good Americanism of the Juilliard pupils' voices and Albert Stoessel's beat managed to conceal the naked truth from us. The laughter, the gayety and irony that sound from the simple sunny inventions composing the score are of the sort of those which accompany and reveal a very sentimental inclination. And Stendhal's interest in music was not of course specifically musical and esthetic. Whether or not he knew so, it was essentially an interest in what music expressed rather more than in the form and manner of the expression: in particular an interest in the passions and in the pleasure attending the musical stimulation of certain illusions. Instrumental music did not attract him; only vocal music; for the latter's connection with the persons of performers permitted this wonderful egoist to enjoy his own capacity to feel amorous enchantment the better, and rendered him more fully conscious of what he was experiencing out in the world. Thus the music of "the Italian Molière," Cimarosa, was fated to win his eternal affection by reason of its gay, light eroticism; precisely as that of Mozart, for Stendhal *"le génie de la douce mélancolie,"* was destined to hold it with its more fervent and melancholic temper. Stendhal actually heard "Il Matremonio" for the first time as early as 1800, in Ivrea during his happy fling in Italy during Napoleon's Marengo campaign, and throughout his life its measures doubtless recalled that joy of existence which Italy had smilingly revealed to him.

But the Claremont Avenue performance also revealed the superiority of Stendhal's taste. The buffo style of Cimarosa is really fine: less exaggerated, and more in keeping with the dramatic situations than that of his successor Rossini. The Metropolitan's steady preference of Rossini, even unto "Il Signor Bruschino," now for fair appears inscrutable.

PAUL ROSENFELD.

CORRESPONDENCE

Far Back to the Land

SIR: It seems that all protagonists of industrialism, whether they be capitalist or socialist, have it in for any back-to-the-land movement. Mr. Cowley should realize that had not those shanty-dwellers in the Alleghanies been starved by industrialism they never would have gone back to the land. They went because they believed that there they could make a living, and of course the truth is that they can, if they know enough. And if they don't, they should be taught, not berated. They should be taught to grow many crops, not one, and several kinds of stock like rabbits, goats and chickens. They should learn to fertilize their soil with cover crops and to terrace their slopes as do the farmers of Italy and Sicily. As neighbors they should learn to work together, exchanging work, teams and machinery. Their aim in life should be to produce for their own table, not for the market. They will perish producing for the market, as better farmers than they are perishing today.

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Mr. Davis says, "Agriculture like everything else rushes forward to specialization, scientific management and mechanization." Because your apples are wormy and those of your large orchardist neighbors are not, Mr. Davis, don't rush forward to such a dangerous generalization. A 20,000-acre wheat farm in Texas failed last year; meanwhile many small wheat farmers are getting along somehow. By and large the small farmer is making a go of it; provided he has not borrowed too much money to buy machinery, or put all his eggs into one specialized basket, he is of all classes the best off today. For many years through the farm press, agricultural colleges and county agents, the farmer has been taught to specialize, manage scientifically and mechanize, and where has it got him except into debt? He produces, oh so efficiently, and then must practically give away his product. He is the greatest benefactor of the day, and the city is his beneficiary. I would say to him, "Quit farming for a profitless market and farm for a living for awhile"; but alas he cannot do that, for he must have cash, cash, cash to meet the insatiable demands of "specialization, scientific management and mechanization."

I watch the back-to-the-lander with interest. He starves without a burden of debt. He may be poor in shekels but he is not land-poor, cow-poor or machine-poor. He has a home and he has a job, any amount of it. If he once gets the idea—home production of everything that can handily be produced at home—Mr. Cowley will not have to wail over the two millions who have gone back to the land and Mr. Davis will not need to warn the third million who are on the way.

OSCAR COOLEY.

New York City.

[Mr. Davis's article was written from first-hand experience and mine from first-hand observation; Mr. Cooley writes from a coöperative apartment house in New York City where many of the tenants raise geraniums in window boxes. I do not think that this gives anybody a right to talk about the advantage (for other people, naturally) of submarginal subsistence farming. I am not a protagonist of industrialism. I hate cities. I was born in the country and intend to die there. But I am just about ready to assassinate, liquidate and boil in oil the people who sentimentalize over the esthetic satisfaction of creating an American peasantry.—M. C.]

The T.U.U.C. Protests

SIR: We should like to take issue with one or two points made in The New Republic of July 26 with regard to the extract from our letter in the "Extracts from Letters" section.

First, you say that "Mr. Overgaard admits that this does not constitute 'covert conspiracy' (in The New Republic's phrase)" after giving proof and citing incidents to back up our charges. Mr. Overgaard admits no such thing. If you will take the trouble to reread our letter, you will find in it the following sentence which appears after a good deal of documentation: "This *may* not be 'covert conspiracy' . . . " It is apparent that the "may not" refers to a possible interpretation that may be placed on such actions by The New Republic, not by the Trade Union Unity Council.

Second, we should like to point out that no less than four times (once in brackets) does The New Republic go out of its way to designate the Needle Trades Workers' Industrial Union, the Laundry Workers' Industrial Union and the Trade Union Unity League as "the Communist union" or "[the Communists]," despite the fact that in our letter we used no such phrases.

In the first place, only several hundred of the 8,000 or so furriers who are members of the fur department of the N.T.W.I.U. are members of the Communist party, although a number of the leaders are Communists. Indeed, many Socialists who were formerly leaders in the right-wing fur union are now prominent as leaders of the N.T.W.I.U., having become convinced that its policy is one fully in the interests of the fur workers. Furthermore, one of the outstanding successes of this union has been precisely the fact that it has united workers of the Communist, Democratic, Socialist and Republican parties and those without political affiliations.

In speaking of the International Fur Workers' Union (A. F. of L.), however, you do not refer to that organization as a "Socialist union" when it is a fact well known throughout the trade that leaders of the A. F. of L. fur union are Socialist party members and backed by that party. An examination of recent issues of The New Leader will substantiate this point. In fact, Mr. Shore, "supervisor" of the International Fur Workers' Union, has never been a fur worker, but was chosen by the Socialists' "labor committee" to lead the A. F. of L. fur-union campaign!

Consistency will certainly suggest that you use the Socialist designation when referring to the right-wing fur union.

ANDREW OVERGAARD,
Secretary, Trade Union Unity Council.

New York City.

For the Protection of Teachers

SIR: In the belief that academic freedom is being seriously threatened in many schools and colleges, and that an active organization is needed to support it, the Association of University Teachers has been formed. Its aims, according to its constitution, are as follows:

1. Freedom of teaching, research and publication.
2. Freedom to participate in social and political organizations inside and outside of the university.
3. Protection and, where possible, increase of salaries, especially for instructors and other lower ranks of teachers.
4. Better tenure rights.
5. Maintenance of the size of teaching staffs.

The new organization is not intended as a rival of the American Association of University Professors. Its founders believe, however, that there is need for a group which can and will act more quickly and more frequently, especially in cases where freedom of political action is involved. They intend also to undertake an active defense of academic freedom for students; this is a question which is steadily increasing in importance at the present time, and the students in many schools need and deserve liberal faculty support.

Teachers who wish further information are requested to communicate with me at 95 Christopher Street, New York City.

MARGARET SCHLAUCH, Chairman.

New York City.

Signor Best-Maugard Repudiates It Too

SIR: An invitation signed by Upton Sinclair to attend a private showing of a film made by Sergei Eisenstein in Mexico was forwarded to me some time ago by friends in Los Angeles. This induced me to send you these lines with my request that they may be inserted in The New Republic.

About two years ago, Robert Flaherty and Dudley Murphy, who happened to know of my keen interest in the cinema and the studies I had made in this connection, gave Eisenstein letters of introduction to me, in which they expressed the opinion that Eisenstein and I would assuredly agree concerning the artistic and technical points of view of a film that was to be produced in this country.

During our initial conversation, I suggested to Einsenstein that a work which necessarily had to deal with some of the phases of social and political movements in Mexico would place him and his aids under a great responsibility. I stressed the fact that a great deal of care would have to be exercised in order completely to avoid all possibility of misinterpretation. Eisenstein invited me to collaborate with him upon the preliminary outline of the scenario, the choice of locations and the arrangement of details. From that time on our work together included my personal assistance in shooting the picture. I accepted this task, seeing the great importance of such a work of art and because Eisenstein was directing it. . . .

From then on every facility was extended to Mr. Eisenstein; and it was due to my personal standing with the government that a permit was issued for the exportation of the undeveloped film to the United States, where developing, cutting and montage were to be done. I must stress the fact that in having obtained this permit for Mr. Eisenstein, we overcame a very strict requirement that *no* film is allowed to go out of Mexico without being censored

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and approved by a special office which the government maintains for this purpose. We obtained this special concession upon the implicit condition that I would make a final supervision of the finished film prior to its release. . . .

With enormous surprise I now learn that the Eisenstein film on Mexico, the same one in which my prestige and credit with my country's government are involved, is being exhibited in the United States. As I cannot approve of the film, for I neither know how the film was finished, nor even the name of the person who did the cutting, or of the one who authorized its showing, I beg of you to let the public know through the columns of your magazine that I decline all responsibility for the picture that is being exhibited under the title "Thunder Over Mexico." I do not consider myself to be involved in a project which might injure the artistic prestige which gave me a sufficient measure of my government's trust as to be appointed its official representative. . . .

I am taking the necessary steps with my government for releaving me of all responsibility in the making of the Eisenstein film and I am informing it of my disapproval of the parts of the film in the making of which I had no participation, as well as of the film's cutting and montage in which I had no participation.

Mexico City, Mexico. ADOLFO BEST-MAUGARD.

Freedom No Gift

SIR: In his article "The Push Toward Asia" (The New Republic, July 12) Mr. Jonathan Mitchell says: "The first important move toward carrying the Nine Power Treaty into effect came in 1927, when Great Britain agreed to retrocede its concessions in Hankow and Kiukiang." His reference is only a passing one. But even in a passing reference the commentator on affairs should be historically accurate. And historic accuracy demands a different explanation of the retrocession of those two concessions to Chinese sovereignty. The Nine Power Treaty had nothing to do with it. A show of force by revolutionary Chinese did.

The famous Miss Bell of Arabia relates that when she sought to assure an Arab chieftain that her countrymen would, at Versailles, give the people of the Near East their freedom, the sheik gravely replied: "Madam, freedom is never given; it is always taken."

The anecdote tells more about the retrocession of the British concessions at Hankow and Kuikiang, and tells it more accurately, than Mr. Mitchell's statement.

Ray Brook, New York. WM. PROHME.

Is MacLeish Hitlerish?

SIR: I can name three Jews who have casually or deliberately remarked to me that Archibald MacLeish's "Frescoes for Mr. Rockefeller's City" is a keen piece of work and sounds like great poetry. To each of these Jews I replied in substance, "Did you know that The New Republic prints a diatribe by Mike Gold in which Mike moans and tears his hair and says MacLeish and MacLeish's poetry is fascist, anti-Jewish and sure Hitlerish?" And not until I mentioned it had any of the three Jews detected the anti-Jewish slant that gives Mike Gold the willies. One of the three Jews has housed and fed Communists, has helped them out of jails, has the works of Lenin and has read them. This Jew agreed with me that one passage in MacLeish's poem is a sublime salutation to the mass of pick-and-shovel workers who built the American railroads, runes of sorrow over their graves, memorializing them as though they are worth remembering with music, and shifting to another passage of macabre laughter at the exploiters and financial racketeers who promoted the railroads.

The New Republic's reviewer, the aforesaid Gold, would have come nearer the facts (and both Marx and Lenin had a depth of respect for facts) and farther from paranoia if he had written: "The kind of a Jew I am feels that he is the sort of a Jew who is persecuted by this MacLeish poetry. There may be other Jews, on inquiry, who do not feel as persecuted as I do." I am sending you the foregoing at the request of three Chicago Jewish friends, two of whom have been subscribers and readers of The New Republic for twelve years.

Harbert, Mich. CARL SANDBURG.

Extracts from Letters

THE Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief sends us an appeal for funds and clothing for workers who are striking in various sections of the nation. The organization mentions in particular the desperate need of strikers in the East who are fighting the growing menace of the sweat-shop. The appeal is signed by Norman Thomas, Amos Pinchot, Robert Morss Lovett, Reinhold Niebuhr and others. Money or pledges should be sent to the headquarters of the organization at 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York City.

Louis Colman, for the International Labor Defense, forwards a letter received from a group of political prisoners now being held by the Koumintang describing the terrible conditions in which they are kept, the use of torture, the lack of food, and the complete suppression of civil rights. Of the hundred political prisoners in the prison from which the letter was sent, only twenty were ever brought to court before being confined. Word has also been received of the assassination of Yang Chien, Chinese scientist and secretary of the League for Civil Rights on June 18. Protests should be sent to Chiang Kai-shek at Shanghai, to Chang Hsue Liang at Peking, or to the Chinese ambassador at Washington.

Commenting on W. H. Auden's poem, "Song," Lewis Agassiz wonders why Mr. Auden found it necessary to inform all the bourgeois that there was nothing left for them, and what purpose he expected his poem to serve. The poem seemed to say that all those who were not workers could only crawl away and die, that they could neither fit in with the workers nor try to help them, no matter how sympathetic they were. He wonders if Mr. Auden was declaring his faith, persuading himself, indulging in a sadistic enjoyment of the potential suffering of the bourgeois, or providing a rationale for inaction.

Janet G. Weisman, of the Jewish Welfare Board, writes to inform our readers that the Board will appreciate hearing from groups conducting courses in agriculture or farming projects, particularly in connection with the farming projects for the unemployed or for those who are employed but add to their incomes by farming. Her address is 71 West Forty-seventh Street, New York City.

Mr. Lief Lassen writes in to say that the two articles which we published on the back-to-the-farm movement in our issue of August 9 were both cogent and timely. Mr. Lassen points out that farming is not only a highly specialized industry, but that the odds are all against even those who are highly trained in agriculture.

William S. Howe, of Somerville, Mass., considers the article by J. A. Hobson in our issue of June 21 both interesting and penetrating, but writes in to say that the most significant portion of the article is the suggestion that one remedy for the depression would be for Western capitalism to develop the Orient. "The rising standard of living," Mr. Howe writes, "of these vast peoples would in turn furnish a market which would keep our at present excess productive capacity employed for a long time." Mr. Howe believes that the only other alternative is to abandon our capitalist system and that to "control, pacify and develop the Far East" would entail less hardship and bloodshed.

The series of articles, entitled "The Web of the Red Spider," which George Sylvester Viereck recently published in Liberty, have aroused the anger of Eugene S. Paul of New York City who writes in to protest against them. Mr. Paul accuses Mr. Viereck of being a professional Red-baiter who sees in Communism only "a sinister attempt by a group of revolutionaries to gain control of the world, particularly America, with the Comintern in the Empire State Building." Mr. Paul accuses Mr. Viereck of advocating Hitlerism and points out that the latter "neglected to mention that among his theories of fascism is included the Aryan clause."

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Lenin as Conspirator

Collected Works of V. I. Lenin, edited by Alexander Trachtenberg. New York: International Publishers.

Vol. IV. The Iskra Period: 1900-1902. Translated by J. Fineberg. Book I, 336 pages; Book II, 317 pages. $3 each.

Vol. XIII. Materialism and Empiro-Criticism, Critical Notes Concerning a Reactionary Philosophy. Translated by David Kvitvo. 342 pages. $3.

Vol. XVIII. The Imperialist War: The Struggle Against Social Chauvinism and Social Pacifism: 1914-1915. Translated by Moissaye J. Olgin. 496 pages. $3.50.

THE TENTH anniversary of Lenin's death will be observed next January. His great co-worker, Trotsky, standing before Lenin's tomb on the eve of his own exile, is reported to have said, "He is alive, although dead; and I am dead, although alive." Here was, in fact, a life which has already become almost a mythical symbol, pointing into the far future like the shadow of some towering prophet. Obscure political refugee, leader of exiles, organizer of revolt, directing intelligence of a world-shaking social upheaval, token of hope to millions of disinherited, figure of doom to thousands of wealthy and well born, triumphant builder of a new road to life: such was the incredible career of Vladimir Ilytch, modest, shabby, thoughtful little man, wholly incapable of theatricality and, in his own eyes, never more than a stubborn champion of Marxism and an humble servant of the workers of Russia and of the world.

His literary heritage reveals little of the inner man, for to Lenin the man was nothing and the cause everything. It consists almost entirely of contemporary materials, struck off in the heat of combat. Lenin had little time or need for self-communion and none of Trotsky's yearning for the limelight. But these volumes show an incomparable revolutionary strategist serving the cause which he, more than any other single leader, led to victory. No one who would understand the phenomena of revolution, no one who would comprehend the history of the twentieth century, past and prospective, can afford to ignore this cause and this leader as both are reflected in his writings.

The English-speaking world owes no small debt of gratitude to Mr. Alexander Trachtenberg of International Publishers and to his various translators and assistants for undertaking the herculean task of translating and editing Lenin's "Collected Works." The completion of the task will require perhaps thirty volumes. Six volumes, covering the years 1900-1902, 1908, and 1914-1917, have already appeared, three of them (IV, XX, and XXI) in two books each. "The Revolution of 1917" (XX) and "Toward the Seizure of Power" (XXI) were reviewed in The New Republic of May 17, 1933, by Charles A. Beard. The volumes now under consideration date from earlier periods when Lenin was laying the foundations, theoretical and organizational, for the revolutionary conspiracy which found its opportunity for victory in the bloody wake of the Great War. In every instance the work of translating, editing and publishing has been admirably done. Explanatory notes enable even the uninitiated reader to follow Lenin's development through its every stage—and also, incidentally, to acquire a comprehensive knowledge of the history of Marxism.

The first book of Volume IV opens with the founding of Iskra (The Spark) in 1900, two years after the establishment of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party. Lenin envisaged this journal as a national, popular organ of Socialist propaganda, though it never quite attained this stature. It was, of course, published abroad (in Switzerland) under the editorship of Lenin and a group of his colleagues. It was the chief channel for the presentation of Lenin's views until he resigned his post in November, 1903, in consequence of his differences with Plekhanov, leader of the Menshevik faction of the party. Lenin's articles in Iskra and Zarya include assaults upon the autocracy, analyses of the position and problems of the Socialist movement and sundry political and economic commentaries on current events. Most of book two of this volume is taken up with the remarkable brochure, "What Is To Be Done?" published in March, 1902.

Volume XIII consists of a well organized and sometimes brilliant intellectual onslaught against the various pseudo-Marxist critics of dialectical materialism. Here one finds no longer journalism, but a penetrating philosophical treatise, written by Lenin in 1908, to refute and correct those vacillating doubters in Russian Marxist circles who had been influenced by the Neo-Kantianism of the German "revisionist," Eduard Bernstein, and by the idealism of Ernst Mach. Lenin acquits himself with distinction in this, his only important venture into the field of theoretical philosophy. The book constitutes probably the most vigorous and persuasive presentation of Marxist materialism ever published.

Volume XVIII opens with Lenin's interesting article on Marx in Granat's Encyclopedia (1914) and consists, for the rest, of his speeches, articles and resolutions from the outbreak of the Great War to the close of 1915—the critical period of the collapse of the Second International and the beginning of the permanent rift in the whole Socialist movement between the reformists and the revolutionaries. This volume also contains the significant Lenin-Zinoviev pamphlet, "Socialism and War." It is clear to Lenin from the outset that the War is distinctively imperialist, that it is a death struggle between rival bourgeois plunderers, that all Socialists who support their belligerent governments are traitors to Marxism and to the proletariat, and that the true Socialist can have but one answer to the chauvinist call to arms: the call to revolution:

> Turning the present imperialist war into civil war is the only correct proletarian slogan. It is indicated by the experience of the [Paris] Commune, it was outlined by the Basle resolution [1912] and it follows from all the conditions of an imperialist war among highly developed bourgeois countries. However difficult such transformation may appear at one time or another, Socialists will never relinquish systematic, insistent, unflinching preparatory work in this direction once the war has become a fact. Only along this road will the proletariat be able to break away from under the influence of the chauvinist bourgeoisie, and sooner or later, in one form or another, will it take decisive steps on the road to real freedom of peoples, and on the road to Socialism. [October, 1914.]

During the years covered by the present volumes, Lenin devoted himself primarily to organizing and disciplining a little group of staunch revolutionists, to attacking all deviations from the Bolshevik party line, and to propagandizing ceaselessly for the cause to which he gave his life. As a conspirator in exile, he is in no position to organize the Russian masses or even to address them effectively. But he is never in doubt as to his task. His mission is to forge a weapon of revolutionary leadership, to keep it clean and sharp for the future struggle. The impetuosity of those

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who would attack at the wrong time must be restrained, for the energies of the movement must not be dissipated through individual terrorism or ill timed uprisings. The battle cannot be joined until the enemy classes have at least half completed the work of their own destruction. Meanwhile, all within the movement who would compromise with the enemy or weaken the cause by doubts or discouragement or treachery must be fought unceasingly. Purity of leadership and uninterrupted propaganda are of prime importance. It is significant that the final answer to the question, "What Is To Be Done?" (1902) is that a stable nucleus of revolutionary leadership must be built up around an agency of propaganda: a popular revolutionary newspaper.

As judged by its fruits, Lenin's revolutionary strategy and tactics must obviously be pronounced a work of genius. They rest upon an application of Marxian dialectics to class politics in Russia. To outsiders it might appear that Lenin *made* Marxism "true" (for Russia) by his intense faith and able leadership. But for Lenin himself Marxism was never a faith, but a tool for the scientific analysis of social and political processes. If at times the application of the tool led to false results, the fault was not in the instrument but in the user. Usually, however, this analytical technique enabled Lenin to see reality with crystal-clear sharpness and to weigh to a nicety the shifting imponderables of world society. To describe the strategy itself in summary review is impossible, for strategy has significance only in relation to topography, leadership, material, morale —in short, to the whole theatre of battle and to the total set-up behind the scenes. One must read his own words for a sense of this background and for an adequate conception of Lenin's astute plans of campaign. Only a few of the present-day implications of his strategy can be touched on here.

The condition of Social-Democracy in 1933 is eloquent testimony to Lenin's acuteness in perceiving, thirty years ago, that parliamentary, reformist Socialism is not merely forever incapable of achieving its goal, but betrays the very cause which it intends to serve. The German Social-Democratic Party—always the most impressive section of the Second International—was most bitterly denounced by Lenin for its support of the War in 1914. Now, after twenty years of frustration, it has ceased to exist. Its Italian counterpart is likewise dead beyond hope of resurrection. In France, England and America, Socialist parties continue to drag out their existence without much faith in the future. The futility of opportunist, revisionist Socialism has become even more apparent in the Western democracies than it was in Tsarist Russia. All of this Lenin clearly anticipated and predicted.

What he did not so clearly perceive was the possibility of his own propaganda technique and revolutionary tactics being used by the enemy classes in democratic states to hypnotise the mob and to create dictatorial state-forms for the perpetuation of the bourgeois social order by force and demagogery. Lenin in fact believed (mistakenly, as subsequent events have shown) that the ignorant Russian masses, lacking a free press and enlightened public opinion, might be more easily deceived by their ruling classes than the masses in the western democracies:

> In a society based on private property, and the enslavement of millions of propertyless toilers by a handful of rich, the government cannot be anything else than the loyal friend and ally of exploiters, and the most trusty guardian of their power. In order to serve as a reliable guardian in these times, guns, bayonets and knouts are not sufficient; it is necessary to convince the exploited that the government stands above class, that it serves the interests, not of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie, but the interests of justice, that it is concerned in protecting the weak and the poor against the rich and the powerful, etc. . . . But in Europe where there is, more or less, a freer press, democratic government, elections and well established political parties, these hypocritical tricks can be very quickly exposed. In Asia, however, which includes Russia, where the masses of the people are so wretched and ignorant, and where prejudices which foster faith in the Little Father, the Tsar, are so strong, these tricks can be passed off very easily. [*Iskra,* July, 1901.]

The post-war development of Fascism makes it abundantly clear that clever demagogues, by the application of modern advertising methods and by the practice of the old art of "stealing the enemy's thunder" (*e. g.,* national "syndicalism" in Italy, national "socialism" in Germany), can far more easily bamboozle the allegedly literate masses of the western democracies for the purpose of crushing the whole labor movement than is possible under conditions resembling those of Tsarist Russia. Once sufficient popular support is gained in this fashion to make possible the seizure of power by the demagogue-dictators of Fascism, democratic government and freedom of criticism disappear. Demogogery is then supplemented by the knout, as under Tsarism. Indeed, it seems entirely probable that the proletarian revolution in other countries, if, as and when it occurs, will in no instance involve the overthrow of liberal, democratic governments, but will rather involve the destruction of the bourgeois dictatorships which are in process of superseding democracy. Wherever class tensions become sufficiently acute to bring social revolution within the realm of possibility, representative government will break down and be swept away years before an effective proletarian movement for the seizure of control can be organized. Thus far Communist tactics have been helpless in the fight against Fascism, for, in the West at least, these tactics have been based upon the assumption of the continuance of bourgeois democracy. The Communist strategy of the future must become a strategy of secret conspiracy, of underground organization, of smuggled propaganda, pending the crisis when the Fascist state, half-destroyed by economic strangulation and war, is submerged in a mass revolutionary upheaval.

What is of immense importance in Lenin's early career is that he was fighting under precisely such conditions and developing precisely such a strategy. Fighting Fascism, to be sure, presents many problems quite different from those involved in fighting the decrepit Tsarist autocracy. But there are enough common elements—terrorism, espionage, suppression of civil liberties, persecution, provocation of race hatred, etc.—to make a reconsideration of Lenin's early strategy highly profitable for present-day Communists. To the detached observer of comparative revolutionary techniques, it is plain that the tactics of attacking democratic governments have no relevancy in organizing attacks on Fascist dictatorships. It would appear probable that the immediate future lies with Fascism. Whether the remoter future, beyond the world inflation and the next imperialist war, lies with Communism depends in large degree upon the ability of Communists to adapt Lenin's conspirative technique to the needs of a new period.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN.

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A Prince of Peace

Metternich, by Algernon Cecil. New York: The Macmillan Company. 345 pages. $3.75.

THIS IS the second book on the great German reactionary published within the year by writers who are obviously captivated by their subject. Mr. Arthur Herman, an American, gave Metternich a clean bill of health in a long, conscientious and somewhat ungraceful volume, while the British Mr. Cecil is more than pleased with him. Mr. Cecil is a neo-Tory of a most plausible water, with an indiscriminate admiration of every statesman in the Tory tradition from Strafford to Mr. Baldwin. Both historians, far from claiming any kinship with the resewater school of fictionized biography, have given hard chapter and verse, in three languages, for their immediate enthusiasm; and the result is far better than a mere restoration of an eighteenth-century portrait; it is a vindication, accomplished with plenty of fair play, if along party lines, of a much maligned statesman who at least imposed peace upon Europe for forty years.

For Mr. Cecil, the fall of the Bastille initiated a process of European disintegration whose John the Baptist was Luther, and whose contemporary results have been the World War and the universal slump. A hundred years or so are but as yesterday in the eyes of a neo-Tory. Such persons and things as Luther, Knox, Frederick the Great, Palmerston, Bonaparte, Protestantism, Nationalism and Democracy are the worms in the golden fruit of "a European society founded upon Latin civilization, consecrated by Christian faith and embellished by time." Against all such things the Man of Vienna set his classic features; he kept the revolution at bay; he helped to overthrow Napoleon; and hence Mr. Cecil has all but smothered him in the laurels of his vivid prose.

Like many another cultivated Englishman who has resided in all the most attractive cities of the continent, Mr. Cecil has a great affection for Austria, especially the Austria of the old régime, which was his hero's adopted land (Metternich was a native of western Germany). "To the considered selfishness of Prussia," he writes, "the imperial tradition of Austria, preserving as it did the thought of a united Christendom, to say nothing of the defense against Islam, was radically opposed." This is rather pretty rhetoric in the Bellocian manner, but it does not signify much. Austria, in common with other great Powers through the centuries, has consistently acted, not in accord with the interests of a united Christendom, but in accord with her immediate interests and at the spur of the political morality of the moment, whatever it might be. Nor has the latter shifted much since the Peace of Westphalia consecrated modern nationalism in 1648. For example, the political morality of the moment sanctioned the Partition of Poland, where Austria reminds one irresistibly of the Walrus in "Alice in Wonderland": he wept more for the Oysters than did the Carpenter, but he also ate more of them. *"Elle pleurait mais elle prenait toujours,"* as said old Fritz. The political morality of 1914, again, dictated a World War in which the former Holy Roman Empire was not precisely behindhand as the ally of the Sultan. It is a defect in so able a book that its author should permit a weakness for a vanished era and an attractive country to render him occasionally so inconsistent even to his own political creed. He is truer to himself when he writes, apropos of the Greek war of independance against Turkey in 1824, "Russian sympathy with Orthodox beliefs and English sympathy with Hellenic studies were, from Metternich's point of view, forces *requiring to be brought under European control.*"

The lifelong principle of Metternich was very simple, like that of Irving Babbit, though it was a good deal more clear-sighted. He merely had no use for "the vast body of dogma which had been raised upon Rousseau's simple faith in human nature." He was something a great deal better than a natural Tory or Diehard. "All spirit of mere reaction," he said, "is necessarily false and unjust." But this did not make him a believer in Demos as a social panacea. "Ten million ignorances," he wrote in a famous phrase, "do not constitute one knowledge." His biographer has summed him temperately enough as "a representative man, a good diplomatist, for his ways were those of pleasantness and peace, a great European, for a tired Continent had rest for a full generation."

CUTHBERT WRIGHT.

Whispers of Doom

The Bridge of Dreams. Vol. VI of The Tale of Genji. Translated with an Introduction by Arthur Waley. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.50.

MR. WALEY, whose taste and judgment are certainly to be trusted, considers this, the final volume of "The Tale of Genji," to be the best of the six. It has a firmer unity than the other volumes, which relapse occasionally into the episodic form of the medieval literature from which "The Tale of Genji," as a whole, was so great and amazing an advance, and it paints a death scene, perhaps because the death does not actually occur, more naturally than anywhere else in the work, for Lady Murasaki, in the presence of death, stiffened, in a sort of literary paralysis, back into the conventional.

It seems to me, however, that "The Bridge of Dreams"—and "The Lady of the Boat," of which it is the concluding half—are narrower and less dramatic than those first four volumes in which Genji stormed and charmed through his epical career of love and ambition. If in these final volumes there are superiorities of technique there is a dimmer glow and less variety; and flawed though he was Genji at least led a positive life as compared with his two grandsons, the heroes of the last two volumes: Niou, the spoiled sensualist, and Kaoru, the man who was too sensitive to want love or honors stained by rivalry or struggle; who always made a graceful surrender to avoid the defeats he feared.

The virtues of the work as a whole are very great. Mr. Waley is assuredly justified in placing "The Tale of Genji" among the world's masterpieces of fiction. It is the work of a major mind capable equally of feeling much and understanding much. As a result "The Tale of Genji," in a way peculiar to itself, charms the reader both with its simplicity and its subtleties.

In her treatment of her heroes Lady Murasaki is as tender and rapt as any Western romancer with his heroines; yet along with it goes a psychological understanding so keen and unconsciously relentless that most critics have joined Mr. Waley in likening Murasaki to Proust. A special and extremely effective method of the author, used chiefly with the women characters, is the gradual washing away of all other elements of personality till what is left is an intense realization of one emotion—the self-destroying jealousy of Aoi for example, or the renunciation of Ukifune. This dissolution of personality is accomplished as naturally as its previous building up; and the procedure results in some of

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the most effective portrayals of emotional crises in all literature. Another special charm is the exquisite couplets which are to be found on almost every page, and gleam wherever they are found. Murasaki's prose itself is poetic; she was fortunate enough to live in a society where poetry had become a resource of general conversation.

In Mr. Waley's excellent introductions these qualities are well assessed. Furthermore, the value of the work as a social description is pointed out. But the information Mr. Waley gives us lacks the emphasis and underscorings which would have filled his facts with significance.

There is a special reason why the resemblance between Murasaki and Proust should be so often remarked upon. It is not merely because both were born psychologists or have hit upon the same device of introducing, first in a casual role, a character who is to assume a major role. The resemblance lies more importantly in this: that both vast works are descriptions of decadent cultures. There is an anticipation of doom in each.

Lady Murasaki lived in the declining generations of the Fujiwara regime. The Fujiwara clan, by judicious marriages into the imperial family (and then by seeing to it that each succeeding emperor abdicated and become a monk before he reached maturity) was able to use the imperial family as hostages of its power and to rule Japan by a continuous regency. In Kyoto the Fujiwara concentrated their power and constructed an aristocratic, luxurious, formal and finicky society in which the arts soon sickened into pretiness and emotions into neuroses. The culture was built on an alien base, on the imported Chinese civilization. The compulsion toward Chinese culture was so strong that only compositions in old Chinese were considered fit to be written by men; the vernacular was abandoned to women, with the result that women writers became the classics of Japan.

But the consciousness of decay was upon this society. In the provinces feudalism was advancing; the captains of the marches who were unifying Japan by arms were acting on their own authority. The compensation of Kyoto society was to consider all outside humanity and especially the lower classes as somewhat less than human. They laughed, but there was fear underneath the derision, as there always has been in the contempt of the "civil" for the "barbarians." When Murasaki, herself a lady of the court, describes a journey into the country, it is as if she were describing travels in a foreign land; there is always a tone of terror in the description. Outside of Kyoto civilization ends; the people are crude and dreadful. In Murasaki's description the lower classes appear uncouth and menacing, like ill tamed dogs. And though Murasaki's respect ascends with rank, her treatment of the nobility and officials outside Kyoto shows still this combination of arrogant contempt and morbid fear.

Murasaki was describing a parasitic society. Parasites do not outlive their hosts. The Fujiwara rule had impoverished and disorganized the Japanese people, and the sapped structure collapsed, upsetting the Fujiwara with it. Two warrior clans, the Taira and the Minamoto, divided Japan between them and brushed aside, with less sophisticated but more effectual contempt, the delicate Fujiwara nobles whose chief social accomplishment, apart from such sports as Murasaki's "The Tale of Genji," had been to develop the most grandiose snobbery the world had ever seen. It was conscious of its doom; and both the diversions with which it sought to distract itself and the uneasiness that persisted and gave the whole system its psychopathic pattern, are wonderfully portrayed in Murasaki's masterpiece.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

Painter of This Age

José Clemente Orozco: 250 reproductions of his work, with an Introduction by Alma Reed. New York: Delphic Studios. $6.

ALMA REED'S book on Orozco is a distinguished example of the way an artist's biography should be handled. In her brief introduction to this volume of 250 plates, the author describes the world out of which Orozco's art evolved, without in any way trying to draw conclusions as to the "soul effect" upon the artist of this background. She explains:

> The reproductions herein presented are a selection of the works of José Clemente Orozco from the beginning of his formal training in 1909 to the present day. Between the covers of this book, at least, they must make their own argument—standing or falling by each individual reaction—unaided by technical analysis or critical study.

Unlike most of the biographers who announce this policy in the foreword, only to launch into Talmudic interpretations of the artist's psychology and spirituality, Mrs. Reed hews to the line she has chosen. Thus the reader is granted an undisturbed contact with the artist himself and can draw his own conclusions.

As to Orozco's work, there is little need to argue. He is a master who deserves a place among the greatest of this day. He is unmistakably a son of his country, yet his conception and the problems he deals with are universal. Orozco's art was matured in the fire of social revolution which taught him to recognize the true face of our civilization and the tragic but inevitable role which blood and bayonets play in the advent of a new era. This understanding of social upheavals he exhibits in a style which is just as truly twentieth-century as the subject itself. One appreciates this the more after having seen so many "moderns" whose new style is usually but a new manner in which to express the esthetic experiences of a strange dead past.

GENE LUX.

Book Notes

JUVENILE

THE CARPENTER'S TOOL CHEST, by Thomas Hibben. *Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 209 pages. $2.*

This book is designed to help the child conform to the extravert ideal assumed by modern education, to satisfy and also to stimulate his natural interest in the things about him. Simply written and delightfully illustrated, it presents the array of tools used by a modern carpenter, giving a portrait of each one, with a history of its development and sketches of it and its employment at various stages along the way. But the story of man's tools is also the story of man and of how he has used them to build the world in which we live. This elementary account of the nail and the brad, the axe and the adz, the chisel and the drill, is written with a wide and solid sense of history, which brightens the narrative at the same time that it increases the young reader's knowledge of the settings—Stone Age, Bronze Age, Middle Age, Renaissance—through which our tools evolved. The sole violations of pedagogic principle are the use of one or two possibly unfamiliar terms and the one or two rather dogmatic statements where matters of taste or opinion are treated as matters of fact. These are so slight, however, as to be negligible. The importance of supplementing a generalized historic picture with such concrete information as this book contains is suggested by the author's final reminder that

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Public Questions

THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF POWER PRODUCTION, by Fred Henderson. *New York: The John Day Company. 220 pages. $1.75.*

MONEY POWER AND HUMAN LIFE, by Fred Henderson. *New York: The John Day Company. 205 pages. $1.75.*

Fred Henderson, an engineer by training and by good fortune a very capable writer, offers us in these two small volumes what might be called an English variant of the general approach to social problems associated in this country with Technocracy—although there is no specific reference to the work or methods of that elusive movement. "The new thing," writes Henderson, "the really fundamental thing, the profoundly important thing which defines the industrial revolution, is the substitution of other powers for human physical effort as the working energy of the world's production." From this scarcely disputable point of view the author goes on to develop his main theme: that "money power," with its fluctuating concept of value, its emphasis upon ownership and artificial interference with the normal consumption demands of the world, is a survival from the long traditions of individual initiative, and will, sooner or later, have to yield to the same revision that has been enforced by the growth of scientific theory and practice in other fields of human activity.

THE FRAMEWORK OF AN ORDERED SOCIETY, by Sir Arthur Salter. *New York: The Macmillan Company. 60 pages. 75 cents.*

Sir Arthur Salter's plan for an ordered society represents "a creative compromise" between unregulated laissez-faire and "a communism which destroys both political and economic freedom or a fascism which retains a limited freedom for capitalists." Two of his suggestions, the delegation of powers by the legislative to the executive arm of the government and the official organization and institutional self-discipline of big business, have already been incorporated in the National Industrial Recovery Act. The third, the establishment of a National Economic Advisory Council to give the government expert advice on major economic problems and policies, exists in embryo.

FROM PHAROH TO HITLER, by Bernard J. Brown. *Chicago: Consolidated Publishers, Inc. 229 pages. $2.*

This is a historical analysis answering the question "What is a Jew?" The author's method is pragmatic, and his conclusion is that the Jew has now been assimilated into various national cultures. He lays no special emphasis on the Jew in Nazi Germany.

SWASTIKA OVER GERMANY, by Dr. Siegfried Lipschitz. *New York: The Rand School Press. 48 pages. $.15.*

This Socialist analysis of events in Germany since the foundation of the Weimar Republic defends the record of the Social Democrats and presents an account of three days of Nazi terrorism.

WORK CAMPS FOR AMERICA, by Osgood Nichols and Comstock Glaser. *New York: The John Day Company. 31 pages. 25 cents.*

This pamphlet is doubly instructive, for the authors have not only traced the quick evolution of our own Civilian Conservation Corps, but have also reviewed the history of the German voluntary labor camps which were the predecessors of Hitler's Compulsory Labor Service. The first of the German camps, established in 1925, was the result of a movement among university students. Although the camps increased rapidly in number, unemployed workers were not admitted until 1928. To workers and students alike the camps provided a new and healthy purposefulness lacking in the repressive economic environment outside. Up to 1931, when the camps were first utilized by the government as a means of absorbing the unemployed, they were a definite part of the adult-education movement. Their chief purpose was the maintenance of morale, though they were valued almost equally for the opportunity provided for contact across class lines and experience in self-government. The authors argue that the lessons of eight years of German experience with work camps should not be neglected by the directors of the forest army here, particularly with respect to the recreational activities of the Corps.

Fiction

AT THE SIGN OF THE LAME DOG, by R. H. Mottram. *Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.50.*

The chronicle of Earl Barningham, horse trader and innkeeper, is the story of a man who tried to stand still in the years of change from 1888 to the 1920's. Unable, and unwilling, to adapt himself to the mechanical and temperamental innovations about him, thrifty Earl finds his fortunes sinking. With the conservatism of his class, he resents the organization of labor, the advent of the motor car and, above all, the passing of the landed gentry, created by God and English custom to be gypped a bit by its cleverer dependents. Suspicion that he is at the bottom of a ruse to prevent the village laborers from voting Liberal keeps them away from his inn; garages and motors are ruining the horse business. Even his family seems to be getting beyond him. However, with the coming of the Great War, Earl sees an opportunity to recoup his fortunes, and he dies confident of the vindication of his traditions.

THE SINNER, by I. J. Singer. *New York: Liveright, Inc. $2.50.*

This novel has been translated from the Yiddish largely because of the success of the Yiddish Art Theatre production, "Yoshe Kalb," which was adopted from it; but the book was well worth translating on its own account, and not the least of its merits is Maurice Samuel's excellent translation. The background of the story is the papal-like court of one of the great Chassidic rabbis of Galicia. The lusty old Rabbi Melech, who has buried three wives, decides to marry a fourth, and catches a tartar. She falls in love with her young son-in-law Nahum, a delicate ascetic boy who lives in a world of Kabbalistical mysticism, and seduces him. The boy abandons his wife and disappears. After years of penitence in which many strange adventures befall him, he reappears at Rabbi Melech's court and discovers himself to his wife and father-in-law. He is being groomed as the rabbi's successor when a visiting rabbi from some Polish town identifies him as Yoshe the Loon and, moreover, husband of the half-witted daughter of the local beadle. A Sanhedrin of seventy great rabbis is convoked to pass on his identity. They rule that he is neither Nahum nor Yoshe the Loon but "a dead wanderer in the chaos of the world." This romantic plot is the opportunity for setting in motion a rich and complex pageant of Chassidic types and customs.

Contributors

Ernst Oberfohren is identified in the editorial paragraph preceding his article.

Stephen Foster, a graduate of Harvard of the class of 1916, is in the banking profession in New York City. He has contributed a number of articles to Barron's Magazine analyzing the value of stocks in relation to their stock-market prices.

Frederick L. Schuman, Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago, and author of "International Politics" and other works, is now abroad on a fellowship, studying German politics and the post-war foreign policy of the Reich.

Cuthbert Wright teaches English and History at St. Andrew's School in Tennessee. He is the author of "The Story of the Catholic Church."

Isidor Schneider, the author of a volume of poetry, "The Temptation of Anthony," and a novel, "Doctor Transit," is a frequent contributor to literary journals. He has recently begun work on another novel.

Gene Lux, sculptor, lecturer and former art critic for Die Neue Freie Presse in Vienna, is now contributing to several American magazines and has been working on a history of art from a psychological standpoint.

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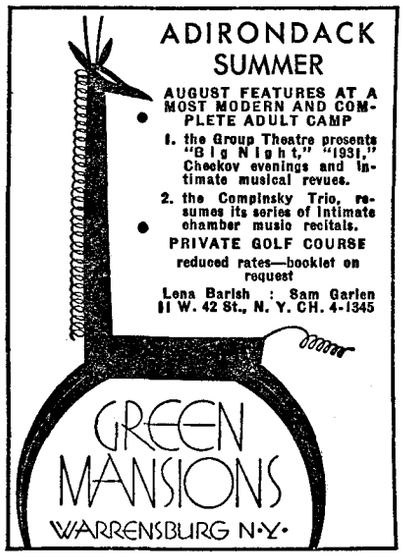
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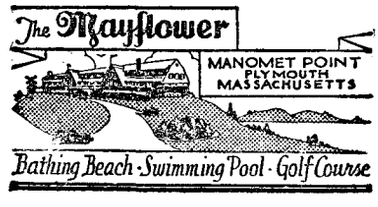

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